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Genesis

INTRODUCTION; REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES, GIVING AN ANALYSIS SHOWING FROM WHICH OF THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS EACH PORTION OF THE TEXT IS TAKEN; INDEX AND MAP

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

For the chief works used in the preparation of this edition of *Genesis* see on p. 63, and acknowledgements in footnotes. The division of the text between the documents out of which *Genesis* was compiled is indicated by capitals inserted in the text in brackets, and at the head of the pages. These capitals are explained in the Table of Symbols, p. 52; and the theory of the analysis is expounded on pp. 9 ff., 16 ff., 45 ff. For the convenience of the reader the explanations of technical terms, &c., have been repeatedly indicated by references; they may also be found by consulting the index.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	1
TEXT OF THE REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS	73
INDEX	409

MAP: THE ANCIENT WORLD	*To face Title*
DIAGRAM OF SEMITIC COSMOLOGY	66

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

INTRODUCTION

1. The Message of GENESIS.

In this book many voices speak to us from a remote past. It has been written of Jesus:—

'Dim tracts of time divide
Those golden days from me,
Thy voice comes strange o'er years of change,
How can we follow Thee?

Comes faint and far Thy voice
From vales of Galilee,
The vision fades in ancient shades,
How should we follow Thee?'

The 'tracts of time' which divide us from the characters of *Genesis*, and even from the authors who tell their story, are longer by centuries, and sometimes by millenniums, than those which have elapsed since our Lord was a man among men. Yet the lines quoted above are only partly true in either case. Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph are no mere shadowy visions, but familiar friends, more real to many than the statesmen and generals of our own day; and the far-off voices are neither faint nor strange, but still speak clear, intelligible, and emphatic words on faith, and hope, and duty. The Patriarchs appeal to us, interest and help us, because they are types of classes of men; their adventures were not unfamiliar experiences in the ancient East, and still stand as vivid pictures and symbols of crises in human life to-day. There have been—there are still—many Abrahams who have gone out, not knowing whither they went, in obedience to some dictate

of conscience, to some prospect of spiritual advantage, rightly interpreted as the call of God; many Jacobs, who have, so to speak, stumbled into the Divine Presence, when their only thought was of headlong flight from the consequences of weakness, folly, and sin; many Josephs, too, who have found in humiliating ruin the appointed pathway to honourable service. Such vicissitudes of fortune or of conduct are not far from any of us, and we are all encouraged by the possibilities of grace suggested by these ancient stories. A mediaeval Rabbi has well said that the faults and failures of prophets, patriarchs, and saints are recorded for our encouragement; we see that the heroes of the inspired narrative are human, and that what is told of them is a story of Divine enabling which may be read as a promise to our feeble and erring selves. It is the human, the representative character of these narratives which has preserved them, and procured for them a place in Scripture. Many generations felt that they expressed real experiences, and therefore handed them on as their own testimony also to the righteousness and love of God.

Thus the lives of the Patriarchs enshrine for us some of the most primitive and yet the most permanent ideas as to man, and life, and God. Going further back, the story of the Fall dramatizes, so to speak, the awakening to the sense of sin in the race and in the individual. It helps us, as it has helped mankind ever since it was written, to interpret the distrust and fear which hinder our fellowship with God. But the stories of the Creation, the Fall, and the Flood also expound men's faiths concerning God and Nature, and show us how the Divine Life had revealed itself long ago as One, ruling alike everywhere in the known and the unknown.

The Book of Genesis tells us, moreover, of God in history. By a bold and picturesque figure, common to the early annals of Israel and other communities, the fortunes of peoples—Ishmael, Israel, Edom—are depicted

as the adventures of their heroic ancestors. In these we constantly read of an overruling Providence; God calls Abraham from Haran; meets Jacob at Bethel, and Hagar in the wilderness. Thus from the outset the history of Israel is part of its Bible, and there is a recognition of the Divine government of nations. In this way our book strikes one of the key-notes of O. T. Revelation—the rights of religion in national and international politics. The same truth is further emphasized by the absence of any anxiety to distinguish the history of single persons from that of tribes; the O. T. gives no countenance to the idea that the obligations of a people are less stringent and exacting than those of individuals, but treats both alike as regards duty to God and man.

Again, there are many striking illustrations in *Genesis* of the fact that inspiration constantly leads men on to new truth, and yet at the same time enables them to retain what was true in their old faith, and thus to acknowledge the continuity of Revelation, and to find a Word of God alike in the earlier and less perfect, and in the more advanced teaching of their sacred literature. Thus the two accounts of the Creation[1] represent two different stages of religious thought. Yet the reverence for the more ancient story did not prevent the Israelites from accepting another symbolic narrative which embodied more advanced truth; nor did their enthusiastic appreciation of new light lead them to cast aside a Scripture hallowed by many sacred memories and associations. The two were placed side by side. Our authors have even been careful to preserve edifying fragments of old tradition when the rest of a story had to be discarded, because it shocked spiritual feelings enlightened by the progress of Revelation; as, for instance, in the case of the account[2] of the marriage of the sons of God and the daughters of men, which is obviously incomplete. It is

[1] Gen. ii. 4^b–25 (the older). Gen. i. 1—ii. 4^a.
[2] Gen. vi. 1–4.

doubtless true that the authors of *Genesis* would not have enforced its lessons in such words as have been used here; if they had worked out these ideas they would probably have stated them; but it is the property of inspired truths, as of great formulae of science like the law of gravitation, that in later ages they have a far wider application than their authors ever dreamed of. We perhaps understand our book best if we regard it as a great gallery of sacred pictures in which the facts of the spiritual life are illustrated by graphic word-painting; its narratives bear much the same relation to dogmatic theology that a landscape by Turner does to an ordnance map. But, above all else, and in spite of all differences in the way of thinking and speaking, one clear truth is handed down to us from these ancient days. *Genesis*, as has been said, includes the spiritual experiences of many generations; and all the varied voices with which it speaks assure us of the reality of man's fellowship with God. Later on it will be explained that the contents of this book range from the dim traditions which were Israel's earliest memories to the religious speculations of the Jews who lived after the Exile —a period of some hundreds of years. The succession of inspired writers whose works have been combined to form the Pentateuch are all convinced that God was near to man, speaking to him, listening to his prayers, revealing Himself in many ways, from the time when He walked in the Garden with Adam and Eve till He spake with Moses face to face as a man talketh with his friend. Moreover, in the pictures of patriarchal times the inspired writers reveal their own experiences, and tell us that they too knew God and were found of Him. They swell the chorus of agelong, world-wide testimony which encourages us to believe that God is found by those who seek Him; and thus they help to justify the believer in interpreting his spiritual life as a true fellowship with the Invisible Presence of Infinite and Eternal Love.

Thus in *Genesis* we learn something of the beginnings

of the history which was the Divine preparation for the coming of Christ; we see men discerning in that history the first steps towards a work of God which they did not fully understand, but which was made manifest in the Incarnation; we are shown something of that progressive Revelation which culminated in the N. T.

2. The Historical Circumstances of the Period.

The period with which *Genesis* deals appears at first sight to be that from the Creation to the Death of Joseph. A closer examination[1], however, shows that there are references to the history of Israel, at any rate as late as the time of David[2], and perhaps as late as that of Jeroboam II[3]. It is impossible to attempt to deal with these many centuries in detail, but a few words may be given to the general situation. The 'world' of *Genesis* includes Egypt, Arabia, and Western Asia, from the Mediterranean to the lands east of the Tigris, and from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean, but the writers had only dim ideas of the country beyond the Tigris, or north of the head-waters of that river and the Euphrates. This 'world' of *Genesis* formed a closely connected international system, like the Greek states and the nations of modern Christendom. Our book has been compiled[4] out of a series of documents, and these documents again have been compiled from older works and from traditions[5]. The people who told the oldest traditions in the most primitive form in which we can trace them in *Genesis* thought of the world as consisting of the city-states of

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[1] See p. 47.
[2] See on xxxvi. 31.
[3] See on xlix.
[4] See Composition, pp. 9 ff.
[5] Neither the memory nor the imagination of Israel could go back to a time at which this international system did not exist; except that the dim, far-off ages from the Creation to the building of the Tower of Babel came to be regarded as a direct preparation for it.

Palestine and Phoenicia, the nomad tribes of the desert, and the empires of the Nile valley on the one hand, and the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris on the other. The ruling races in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia changed from century to century; sometimes each of these dominions was held in a single hand, sometimes each was divided between a number of petty princes; but always the two foci of the world's life were Egypt and Babylon[1]. Palestine was usually subject to one or other of the two; or else debatable ground, the battle-field on which their armies met. Thus Palestine was saturated with the influence, political, social, commercial, and religious, of Egypt and Babylon. Sometimes the one was dominant, sometimes the other; sometimes both the great powers were absorbed at the same time by internal distractions, and Palestine was left for a while to itself. But commercial, diplomatic, and social intercourse with Egypt and the East did not cease when Pharaoh or Sargon was too busy at home to send an army into Palestine. The opinion is now very widely held that throughout our period the great religious and social influence in the world was Babylon.

During the period before the conquest of Canaan the tribes which afterwards became Israel roamed as nomads through this ancient world, encamping now by the Euphrates, now at Haran, now by the Nile; sometimes traversing Canaan, but mostly frequenting the pasture lands south and east of Palestine. An interval, as it seems, when none of the great powers could interfere in the Promised Land, enabled them to obtain a footing east and west of Jordan; and after a long and arduous struggle the tribes of Israel combined with each other, and with many of the previous inhabitants of Canaan, to form first the united kingdom of Saul, David, and

[1] 'Babylon' is used for the sake of brevity for 'the states in the districts watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris.'

Solomon, and then the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. During this period the Israelites were at various times the allies, subjects, enemies, or suzerains of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Syria, and other neighbouring states and peoples[1].

3. How GENESIS was Written[2].

Genesis was not originally a separate book; it is merely the first of the five volumes into which the Pentateuch[3], or Jewish *Torah* or Law, was divided for the sake of convenience. But this division was made in just the right place, so that *Genesis*, as far as its contents are concerned, is a complete work in itself; it concludes the history of the Patriarchs, and leaves the beginnings of the history of Israel, as a nation, for *Exodus*. Nevertheless, as *Genesis* was originally part of the Pentateuch, its history is that of the whole work, and we cannot understand how *Genesis* was written without briefly sketching the history of the composition of the Pentateuch.

The Pentateuch[4] was not an original work written throughout in the same period by a single author; it was a compilation from earlier works, some of which were themselves compilations from still earlier works. It was the final edition[5] of the Law of Israel, these earlier works being former editions of the Law.

To the reader of *Genesis* the title 'Law' seems out of place, but a glance at the rest of the Pentateuch shows

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[1] Cf. Interpretation, p. 47.

[2] For the traditional theory that the *whole* of the Pentateuch was actually *written* by Moses see Appendix.

[3] Pentateuch means 'the five-volumed (book).'

[4] As a matter of fact it is very commonly held that the original work included also *Joshua*; and this work is often called the Hexateuch (Hexateuch = Pentateuch and Joshua); according to this view much of what is said in this section and elsewhere of the Pentateuch might also be said of the 'Hexateuch.'

[5] As far as the Bible is concerned.

that more than half the contents are laws in one form or another, or else sermons on the duty of observing the laws. This title 'Law,' moreover, shows us that the Jews thought the laws more important than the history; the Pentateuch to them was first and foremost a law-book; the stories were chiefly useful as explaining or illustrating the laws.

But to return to our present subject, how our book was written, this may perhaps be best illustrated by a comparison with what are sometimes called Harmonies of the Gospels, which have been compiled from the four Gospels so as to form a continuous life of our Lord which shall include everything narrated in all the four. In such works paragraphs and clauses from one Gospel alternate with those from the others. In the same way the Pentateuch is a combination of four earlier works dealing with the history and the laws of Israel. These works will be described in detail later on; we shall speak of them in this commentary as the Primitive Document[1], the Elohistic Document[2], Deuteronomy[3], and the Priestly Document[4]. These four were combined by the editors of the Pentateuch into a single continuous work. As in the case of a Harmony of the Gospels, these editors retained the actual words of the older works. In their anxiety to include as much as possible of the contents of these four documents they will often give the same law twice over, if it is found in two of the documents[5]; and similarly they insert contradictory laws and statements[6], and give alternative and inconsistent versions of the same story. Thus there are two accounts of the Creation, i. 1—ii. 4a on the one hand, and ii. 4b–25 on the other. In the former, amongst other differences, man is created after the animals, whilst in the latter man is

[1] Usually known as the Jehovistic or Yahwistic Document, and denoted by the symbol J; cf. p. 22.
[2] E; cf. p. 30. [3] D; cf. p. 13. [4] P; cf. p. 34.
[5] e. g. Exod. xx; Deut. v. [6] e. g. Exod. xx. 24; Deut. xii.

created before the animals[1]. When the agreement between a narrative in one document and the corresponding narrative in another was sufficiently close, the editors constructed a single continuous narrative made up of alternate clauses or paragraphs from the two documents. The account of the Flood, vi—viii, is such a compilation. Here again, in their anxiety to preserve what they found in the documents, the editors did not hesitate to place contradictory statements side by side. Thus some verses[2] tell us that Noah took in two of each kind of animal, whilst others[3] state that he took in two of each kind of unclean animal, but seven of each kind of clean animal.

Naturally, however, the editors thought it necessary sometimes to omit portions of the documents, or to make additions of their own, or to introduce other alterations. If a paragraph in one document was word for word the same as a paragraph in another, and both came in the same place, it would have been absurd to insist on writing the same thing twice over. Probably too there were sections which the editors omitted because they were unseemly or unedifying. On the other hand, in constructing a continuous story out of sections from different works it would be necessary to insert a few words here and there to make the whole read smoothly. Moreover, in ancient times notes and comments were seldom distinguished from the text which they explained, and there is no doubt that the editors added many notes and comments to explain what they took from the documents or sources; and these notes or comments, in the course of constant copying and re-copying of manuscripts, came to be written as if they were part of the book itself. They are so found in the existing manuscripts, and so printed in current editions of the Hebrew Old Testament and the English Bible. It was

[1] Cf. also the notes on these sections.
[2] vii. 8 f. [3] vii. 2.

the book in its final form, including such additions, which was accepted as part of the Sacred Scriptures, first by the Jews, and then by the Christian Church.

We have said that the Pentateuch was compiled from four earlier works. This compilation, however, was not done at a single stroke. The final editor did not combine four documents, but two, one of which had already been compiled from the three others. Very briefly, omitting details and qualifications for the sake of simplicity, the process may be described in two different ways. First, we may start from our Pentateuch and work backwards. The compiler of our Pentateuch had before him two works, the Priestly Document [1] and a threefold combination of earlier works [2]. This threefold combination, again, had been compiled from Deuteronomy [3] and a twofold combination of earlier works [4]. Finally, this twofold combination had previously been compiled from two earlier works, the Primitive Document [5] and the Elohistic Document [6].

Now let us reverse the process and describe this series of compilations from the beginning rather more fully. In early times, before the division of Israel into the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, the Israelites possessed numerous laws and customs, together with many traditions as to the early history of man and of Israel. Some of these were preserved in writing, others were handed down by word of mouth. Many laws and customs were simply perpetuated by habit, practice, and regular observance. At some time between the death of Solomon and the Fall of Samaria [7], two collections were made of these laws, customs, and traditions: one, the Primitive Document,

[1] Denoted by the symbol P.
[2] Denoted by the composite symbol JED.
[3] Denoted by the symbol D.
[4] Denoted by the composite symbol JE.
[5] Denoted by the symbol J.
[6] Denoted by the symbol E.
[7] Between about B.C. 960 to B.C. 721.

in Judah; the other, the Elohistic Document, in the Northern Kingdom. As time went on these works were somewhat modified in process of copying; or, as we should say, new editions of them were published.

In the reign of Manasseh or Josiah a new work was compiled[1] in Judah, chiefly dealing with laws and customs, and was accepted as the Law of Judah by a solemn covenant at the time of the reforms of Josiah[2]. This is the Book of the Law found in the temple, and included the bulk of our Deuteronomy. This also passed through various editions.

About the same time, probably a little later than B.C. 621, an editor combined current editions of the Primitive Document[3] and of the Elohistic Document[4] into a single work, which we may call the Twofold Document[5].

At some time during the Exile the current editions of *Deuteronomy* and the Twofold Document were combined into what we may call the Threefold Document[6].

After the Exile a new edition of the history, with a new collection of laws, was compiled at Babylon, and completed before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah[7]; this was the Priestly Document[8]. This is probably the Book of the Law which Ezra brought from Babylon[9]. This work also passed through various editions.

Soon after, the current edition of the Priestly Document was combined with the Threefold Document into a Fourfold Document[10]. It is not certain whether this Fourfold Document was simply our Pentateuch, or whether it also included *Joshua*. If the latter was the case, *Joshua* was afterwards separated from the Pentateuch. Last of all the Pentateuch was divided into our Five Books, and *Genesis* arose as a separate book.

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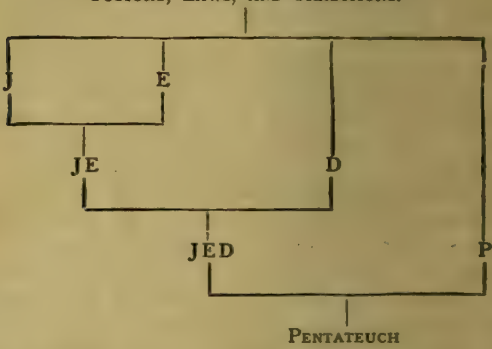
[1] Between about B.C. 700 and B.C. 621. [2] B.C. 621.
[3] J. [4] E. [5] JE. [6] JED.
[7] B.C. 444. [8] P. [9] Ezra vii. 6.
[10] JEDP.

We may further illustrate this process by equations and diagrams; first by a series of equations :—

J + E = JE.
JE + D = JED.
JED + P = Pentateuch *or*[1]
{JED + P = JEDP = Hexateuch.
{JEDP − Joshua = Pentateuch.

By way of diagram we may give the following :—



These diagrams and equations, however, are only a very rough statement of the facts. Thus the authors of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Document were acquainted with one or both of the two earlier documents, the Primitive and the Elohistic. Indeed, the legal portions of *Deuteronomy* and the Priestly Document may be called enlarged and emended editions of the legal portions of the Primitive and Elohistic Documents.

Many features in the history of the Pentateuch may be illustrated from the composition of the Gospels. It is often maintained that there were originally two main records of our Lord's life and teaching, the Gospel of

[1] Cf. above, p. 9 *n*.

Mark and the Logia of Matthew. These were combined independently by Luke into his Gospel, and by the author of the first Gospel into the Gospel of Matthew; just as the Primitive and Elohistic Documents were combined into the Twofold Document. John, as a new and largely independent edition of the Life and Teaching, may be compared to *Deuteronomy*; and a Harmony of the Gospels would, as we have said, correspond to the Pentateuch.

We have already explained[1] how the Pentateuch came to be called the Law. As Moses was the founder of the national religion of Israel its system of law was traced back to him. This system from time to time was adapted to the changing circumstances of successive periods; so that we have editions of the Law during the earlier monarchy in the Primitive and Elohistic Documents; during the later monarchy in *Deuteronomy*; during the period after Exile in the Priestly Document and the complete Pentateuch; but these were put forward as developments of the same system of Law; it was claimed that they were governed by the spirit and principles of the great Lawgiver, and that thus they rested on his authority; hence each of them was called the Law of Moses. Similarly, when we speak of the Gospel of Christ, we do not confine the term to the actual words of Christ, but we include the Apostolic teaching about Christ, notably the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement.

We fear that our readers will consider this exposition cumbrous and complicated, and yet we have simplified it in every possible way, omitting many details and qualifying statements, just as in a small map straight lines are substituted for a series of small curves. The difficulty is partly artificial, and arises from the fact that so many even now have grown up with the idea that the whole of the Pentateuch was actually *written* by Moses; they have always read the book from this point of view,

[1] Page 9.

and it is hard and almost painful to try to look at it from any other standpoint. We can only say that, to a careful and intelligent student, the theory of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch involves innumerable difficulties which have to be met by complicated and disingenuous explanations. But the difficulty is partly real; the Pentateuch is the product of the influence of Revelation on the life and thought and religion of Israel for many centuries. It is only natural that the history of this long process should be complicated.

4. The Traditions and Documents from which GENESIS was Compiled.

(*a*) *Introductory*. We propose here to give some fuller account of the sources mentioned in the previous section. We have not thought it necessary to refer further to *Deuteronomy*, because no portion of that document is included in *Genesis*; but additions may have been made by editors writing under the influence of *Deuteronomy*. We take first the early traditions (*b*)—(*f*).

(*b*) *Babylonian Sources* (*Hammurabi*, &c.). In these ancient stories we catch the far-off echoes of the thought and passion and action of the life of many thousands of years ago. It was a time when heaven and earth seemed nearer than they do to-day; when it seemed no incredible thing that man should meet with God walking in His garden in the cool of the day. Hence we find in strange combinations the figures of Bedouin Sheikhs, mighty and warlike kings, angels, and even of Yahweh Himself, the God of Israel. We have learnt of late that *Genesis* includes traces of even more primitive ideas of Nature, and man, and God; reminiscences of a fantastic mythology, in which gods and demi-gods, heroes and men, trees and stones, rivers and springs of water, the powers of Nature and the heavenly bodies were mingled in a strange confusion. Similarly, the technical terms of the Christian Church include reminiscences of Paganism, and the most sacred

day of the calendar, Good Friday, is named after the heathen goddess Freya.

Amongst the ultimate sources of *Genesis* we must reckon the primitive Semitic stories of the origin of the world and other traditions. These are now known to us from the documents which have been, and are being, dug up from buried libraries of Assyria and Babylonia. We call them documents, but their form is quite different from that of modern writings. There are tablets, bricks, cylinders of baked clay, wall-panels, and the bases and surfaces of statues, inscribed with those curious combinations of arrowheads known as the cuneiform character. In these we may still read the ancient Babylonian versions of the stories of the Creation, the Flood, and the long-lived heroes who came before the Flood. Here, too, we find names of ancient kings who are identified with Amraphel and his allies, of whom we read in chapter xiv.

We do not know exactly how the Biblical stories are connected with the Babylonian traditions. We know that Palestine and the rest of Western Asia was under the influence of Babylon from very early times. The numerous inscriptions of Hammurabi, king of Babylon, probably Amraphel, show that about B. C. 2250 the suzerainty of Babylon extended to the Mediterranean.

Later on the recent discovery of a number of cuneiform tablets [1], from the archives of the Egyptian Foreign Office of about B.C. 1400, show that the Babylonian language and character were used in the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and the states of Western Asia; and that at that time there was constant commercial and diplomatic intercourse between Egypt and Babylon, passing through or along the borders of Palestine. Moreover, even the letters sent by Canaanite tributary princes to their Egyptian suzerain are written in Babylonian. Again, from about B. C. 900 to 605 the influence of Assyria was

[1] The Amarna Tablets.

dominant in Western Asia, and the Assyrian civilization was practically the same as that of Babylonia, and Babylon during this period was a dependency of Assyria. From B.C. 606 to 538 Babylon again held the supremacy of Western Asia, and during this period the flower of the Jewish people were carried captive to Babylon. Although at the end of this period Persia wrested the supremacy from Babylon, that great city still remained for centuries a centre of culture and religion, and one of the capitals of the Persian Empire. During all this period there was an influential Jewish colony at Babylon. Doubtless, if our information were more complete, we could trace a continuous Babylonian influence in Palestine from the earliest times to the Reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah[1]. It does not follow that the Biblical stories were derived from any of the cuneiform documents now known to us. Gen. i–x and the Babylonian narratives may be independent developments of primitive Semitic traditions; or, again, the Israelites may in the first instance have derived these traditions from the Canaanites[2]. But the intercourse of Babylon with Palestine shows that the Israelite narratives may have been again and again revised and corrected through the influence of Babylonian religion and literature. Moreover, since the Priestly Document[3] was compiled during and after the Exile by Jews living in Babylon, we should expect to find in it traces of the study of Babylonian literature extant at that time. Doubtless such study is the cause of some of the parallels between the Priestly and Babylonian stories of the Creation and the Flood; and it is possible that some of the resemblances between the Priestly Laws and the Code of Hammurabi[4] may be due to Jewish research during and after the Exile. In the same way the narrative of Abraham and Amraphel (Hammurabi) in chapter xiv may be partly based on

[1] B.C. 444. [2] See p. 21. [3] See pp. 34 ff.
[4] A collection of over three hundred laws with a long preamble, inscribed on a great block of black marble.

information derived from Babylon, possibly by Jews of the Captivity.

The extent of Babylonian influence on Israel is matter of controversy; even the name and worship of Yahweh are said to have been derived from Babylon. Recently a distinguished Assyriologist, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, in two famous lectures before the German Emperor, insisted on the debt of Israel to Babylon, and maintained that because of this indebtedness, and for other reasons, the O.T. is not a revelation. We should be inclined to draw the opposite conclusion. Consider the enormous prestige of Babylon, the venerable antiquity of its traditions, its imperial power and splendour, its advanced civilization, its stately temples and magnificent ritual. We might have expected that the Jews would be overwhelmed by such influences, that they would have been dazzled and led astray. No doubt many lost faith in Yahweh, abjured their nationality, and became merged in the surrounding heathenism. But read the Priestly account of the Creation[1], and note the wonderful spiritual discrimination and insight with which the writer uses the traditional framework to express the most sublime truths. Is there not here the influence of the Divine Spirit, all the more manifest because it overcomes opposing forces?

(*c*) *Egyptian Sources* (*the Story of Joseph*). The influence of Egypt in Palestine was constant and powerful; but the prophets who sympathized with Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel regarded the Egyptian influence as corrupt both in politics and religion. The authors and editors of the Pentateuch were of one mind with these prophets, so that they made little use of Egyptian sources. But it seems probable that the story of Joseph is partly derived from an Egyptian narrative[2].

(*d*) *Stories from the Sanctuaries*. Many of the narra-

[1] Gen. i. 1—ii. 4[a]. [2] See notes on xxxvii, xxxix–xl.

tives are connected with the great Israelite sanctuaries or high places, the oak of Moreh by Shechem [1], Bethel [2], Mamre by Hebron [3], Jerusalem [4], Beer-lahai-roi [5], Beer-sheba [6], and Gilead [7]. As they describe how the Patriarchs founded the sanctuaries, or visited them, or endowed them with tithes, we may naturally suppose that the stories were preserved at these places; and that the authors of the Primitive and Elohistic Documents derived them from the priests, just as Herodotus gathered information from the priests in Egypt and Babylon.

(*e*) *Ancient Lyrics.* The Pentateuch contains many poems; and several of these are in *Genesis*. In addition to smaller fragments there are the Sword Song of Lamech [8], Noah's Oracle on his Sons [9], the Blessings of Isaac on Jacob and Esau [10], and the Blessing of Jacob [11]. These poems were not composed by the authors of the four main documents used in the Pentateuch [12], but are older than any of these documents. Perhaps originally they were preserved in the memories and on the lips of the people, and then written down, either separately or in collections of poems. The authors of the documents may thus have obtained the poems from oral tradition, or from separate writings, or from collections. Some poems in other books of the Pentateuch, and in *Joshua* and *Samuel*, &c., are

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[1] Gen. xii. 6 (Abram); xxxiii. 18, xxxv. 4 (Jacob); xxxvii. 12 (Joseph): cf. Deut. xi. 30, xxvii. 4; Joshua xxiv. 26; Judges ix. 4.

[2] Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3, 4 (Abram); xxviii. 19, xxxi. 13, xxxv. 1–15 (Jacob): cf. 1 Kings xii. 29; Hos. iv. 15, x. 15; Amos iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5 f., vii. 10, 13.

[3] Gen. xiii. 18, xviii. 1, xxiii. 19, xxv. 9 (Abraham); xxxv. 27 (Isaac and Jacob).

[4] Gen. xiv. 18.

[5] Gen. xvi. 14 (Hagar and Ishmael); xxiv. 62, xxv. 11 (Isaac).

[6] Gen. xxi. 33, xxii. 19 (Abraham); xxvi. 33 (Isaac); xlvi. 1 (Israel): cf. Amos v. 5.

[7] Gen. xxxi. 47–52; Joshua xxii. 10: cf. Hos. xii. 11.

[8] iv. 23, 24. [9] ix. 25–27. [10] xxvii. 27–29, 39, 40.

[11] xlix. 1–27. [12] See pp. 22 ff.

expressly said to be taken from older collections, e.g. Num. xxi. 14, 15 from the *Book of the Wars of Yahweh*; Joshua x. 12 (the Sun and Moon standing still), 2 Sam. i. 18 ff. (David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan), and, according to the LXX, 1 Kings viii. 12 from the *Book of Jashar*. Possibly some or all of the poems in *Genesis* are derived from one or other of these two collections; but if poems were taken from the same collections, there is no obvious reason why the collection should be named in some instances and not in others.

(*f*) *Other Ancient Traditions.* We have spoken of traditions derived from Babylon, of others preserved at the various sanctuaries, and also of poems current amongst the ancient Israelites. No doubt there were other traditions. Many of the narratives in *Genesis* describe scenes of nomad life; it is held by some that the Israelites looked back upon the nomad period of their history as a Golden Age of primitive virtue, prosperity, and happiness; and that in later generations the stories told long ago round the camp-fires of the wandering tribes were still told by mothers to their children, and repeated amongst the maidens at the well, by the guests at rustic merry-makings, and in the evening gatherings of the peasants when the day's work was done. Such story-telling is still a prominent feature of social gatherings in the East, especially amongst the Bedouin. We must remember, however, that the Israelites on the southern and eastern border lands either retained nomad habits, or were in close and constant intercourse with nomads, so that these stories might be handed down by a continuous tradition amongst nomad tribes. It is also probable that the Israelites might borrow or adapt traditions of their other neighbours, e.g. the Phoenicians, Philistines, Ammon, Moab, and Edom. The authors of the documents would find these various traditions—like the poems—current in writing or otherwise, and would embody them in their works.

Primitive Document (J).

(*a*) *Characteristics.* As a rule the most interesting stories have been taken from this document; they are told in a simple, childlike fashion, and the author does not allow himself to be hampered by the niceties of exact theology. Thus he, and he alone, uses the name Yahweh in *Genesis*, without regard to the time when that name was first revealed to Israel. Yahweh, too, is constantly spoken of as if He were a man. He moulds the first man and the first animals out of clay, as a potter might mould a vessel; He walks in the garden He has planted; He comes down from heaven to see what the builders of Babel are doing; and He accepts the hospitality of Abraham, as any traveller might make himself at home in the tent of a Bedouin sheikh. Again, he delights to tell us how people and places came to have their names, though his explanations are usually rather plays upon words than serious derivations. Man is called *adam* because he was made out of the soil, *adamah*; Abraham is the father, *ab*, of many nations, *hamon*[1]; and the names of the twelve tribes must each have some suggestive explanation. A consonant more or less does not matter in these popular epigrams. The author takes a frank interest in the ancient sanctuaries, the high places, with their sacred trees, and tells us, for instance, how Abraham set up altars by the terebinth at Shechem[2], on the hill near Bethel[3], by the terebinths at Mamre near Hebron[4], and how the sacred tamarisk at Beer-sheba had been planted by him[5].

He has a lively style, and a varied and vivid vocabulary. A few of his peculiarities may be cited: Israel is more often used than Jacob, the inhabitants of Palestine are called Canaanites.

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[1] A multitude. [2] Gen. xii. 6.
[3] Gen. xii. 8. [4] Gen. xiii. 18.
[5] Gen. xxi. 33.

The *Primitive Document*[1] is now only known to us as a series of chapters, paragraphs, and sentences scattered through the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, and *Judges*, and perhaps also *Samuel*, or even the earlier part of *Kings*. But these *disjecta membra*, together with others which have been lost, once formed a continuous narrative in a small roll or book[2]. This work may be called a history, first of mankind and then of Israel, from the Creation to the conquest of Canaan, or even to the death of David, or perhaps even to the revolt of the Ten Tribes[3]. It was, however, a continuous history only in the sense that the different sections were written one after another in the same book. The author was more anxious to preserve interesting and instructive stories than to compose a connected and consistent narrative. His work is a collection of anecdotes arranged roughly in chronological order. Most of them were borrowed with more or less alteration from older writings, and the accounts of the doings of the Patriarchs at the ancient high places near Shechem, Hebron, Bethel, and Beer-sheba were doubtless derived from the priests of these sanctuaries.

There seem to have been two chief editions of this work, an earlier edition[4], compiled about B.C. 850, and a later edition with many additions[5], about B.C. 700–650, i.e. between the time of Hezekiah and Josiah.

The sympathetic interest taken in the high places with their sacred trees shows that the author wrote before the great reform of Israelite worship in the time of Josiah, when the outlying sanctuaries were suppressed, sacrifice was confined to the one temple at Jerusalem, and the ritual was purged of many superstitious practices. Yet

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[1] The symbol for which is J. The document is often styled the *Yahwistic* (or *Jehovistic*) *Document*.

[2] Cf. p. 30.

[3] See Skinner, 1 Kings xii (*Century Bible*).

[4] Denoted by the symbol J^1.

[5] These additions are denoted by the symbol J^2.

the narratives set forth and illustrate a faith in one Holy God, who punishes sin and rewards righteousness. The author's unsophisticated views as to doctrines allow him to speak of Yahweh as if He were a man, and often appeared on earth as a man amongst men, working for them, talking to them, and eating with them. This way of writing sets forth most vividly the nearness of the Divine Presence, the keen interest which God takes in human affairs, and the reality of an intimate fellowship between God and man. These same truths were more fully revealed in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, so that primitive tradition partly anticipated the Gospel history of the Incarnation.

(*b*) *Names and Symbols.* We have called this document the *Primitive Document*, because it preserves the ancient traditions in a more *primitive* form than do the other sources of the Pentateuch. It is probably also older than the Elohistic Document. The Primitive and Elohistic Documents together are often called the *Prophetic Documents*, because they are held to have been compiled under the influence of the prophets of the eighth century. The Primitive Document is usually called the *Yahwistic* (or *Jehovistic*) *Document*, and its author the *Yahwist* (or *Jehovist*), because it is the only document which uses the Divine Name *Yahweh* (*Jehovah*) in *Genesis*. The symbol used to denote it is J^1.

(*c*) *Contents.* The portions of the Primitive Document which are included in *Genesis*, i.e. those referring to the period from the Creation to the death of Joseph, may be summarized thus:—

ii. 4^b–25. *The Creation.* When the world was a barren waste Yahweh[2] moulded a man of the clay and breathed into him the breath of life, so that he became alive. He planted a garden, and placed him in it to keep

[1] *C* has also been used (by Dillmann), and the different strata (see p. 13) in it have been denoted by J^1, J^2, J^3, &c.

[2] See note on ii. 4.

it; but forbade his eating the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. To provide the man with a companion Yahweh formed all the different kinds of animals, but none of them were suitable; so that at last Yahweh threw the man into a trance and shaped a woman out of one of his ribs. This was the origin of marriage. In those first days the man and woman were naked, and not ashamed.

iii. *The Fall.* Tempted by the Serpent the man and woman eat of the forbidden fruit; they perceive their nakedness and hide themselves. Yahweh calls them into His presence; elicits a confession, inflicts penalties on the man, the woman, and the Serpent; and turns the man and the woman out of the garden.

iv. 1–16. *Cain and Abel.* Eve, the woman, bears Cain and Abel. When they are grown up Cain is jealous, because Yahweh favours Abel. Cain murders Abel. Yahweh punishes him by driving him out as an exile, but sets a mark on him that no one shall kill him.

iv. 17–24. *The Beginnings of Civilization.* Genealogy from Cain to Lamech. Lamech institutes the practice of marrying two wives. His sons found the various arts of primitive civilization. Lamech's song of triumph.

iv. 25, 26. *Adam, Seth, Enoch.* Men begin to worship Yahweh.

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vi. 1–4. *The sons of God marry the daughters of men.*

. . . . . .

vii. 5—viii. 22 (portions of[1]). *The Flood.* Yahweh purposes to destroy all living creatures because of the wickedness of men; but He bids Noah save himself and his family, seven[2] of each clean animal, and two of each unclean animal in an Ark. Noah obeys. After seven days there comes a flood caused by forty days' rain. Yahweh shuts up Noah in the Ark. All living beings are

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[1] See Analysis, p. 53. [2] See notes on this section.

drowned except those in the Ark. Yahweh stops the rain, and the waters fall. Forty days later Noah sends out first the raven and then the dove twice, at intervals of seven days. When the dove does not return Noah removes the covering of the Ark and sees that the ground is dry. Noah [leaves the Ark [1]], and offers a sacrifice to Yahweh, who promises that He will not again destroy every living thing, or interrupt the regular course of the seasons.

ix. 18, 19. *The re-peopling of the Earth* by Noah's three sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

ix. 20–27. *The Curse of Canaan.* Noah institutes the cultivation of the vine and the making of wine. He gets drunk and exposes himself. Shem and Japheth show a consideration for him which Ham had neglected; they are blessed and he is cursed.

x. (Portions of [2]). *The Origin of the Nations.* A distribution of the peoples of the Hebrew world between the three sons of Noah.

xi. 1–9. *The Tower of Babel.* Mankind, still one community, speaking one language, propose to build a city and a tower that they may not be separated. Yahweh makes them speak different languages, so that they cannot understand one another, and scatters them over the face of the earth.

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Abram and Lot. [Terah, Abram's father, and his family leave Ur [1].]

xi. 28–30, xii. 1–4[a], 6–20. Abram, Sarai [and Lot? [1]] migrate from Haran to Canaan. Abram builds altars at Shechem and Bethel. On account of a famine he visits Egypt; Sarai, supposed, on his own showing, to be his sister, is taken into Pharaoh's harem; but is released on account of the plagues sent by Yahweh. Abram is dismissed from Egypt.

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[1] See Remark, p. 52.
[2] See Analysis, Table B, p. 53; cf. p. 38.

xiii. 1–5, 7–11a, 12–18. Abram and Lot come to Bethel, and separate because their herdmen quarrel. Lot settles at Sodom; Abram in Canaan, which Yahweh promises to his seed. He builds an altar at Hebron.

xv. (Portions of[1]). Yahweh promises Abram an heir, and covenants to give Canaan to his seed.

xvi. 1b, 2, 4–14. Sarai, being childless, gives Hagar to Abram; but when she sees that Hagar is pregnant she ill-treats her. Hagar runs away (but is sent back by an angel[2]); Ishmael is born.

xviii–xix.[3] Yahweh and two angels appear in the form of men to Abraham at Mamre, and are hospitably entertained by him. Yahweh announces that Sarah shall bear a son; she laughs incredulously, and is rebuked. Yahweh announces to Abraham the doom of Sodom; but promises, at his intercession, that the city shall be spared if ten righteous men are found in it. The two angels reach Sodom, and are hospitably entertained by Lot, who protects them from the men of Sodom. They tell Lot of the coming doom of the city, and with difficulty induce him to flee with his family. He is allowed to take refuge in Zoar, and Yahweh destroys Sodom and Gomorrah with fire from heaven. Lot's wife looks back, and is turned into a pillar of salt. Lot and his daughters flee from Zoar to a cave, and Lot becomes the father of Moab and Ammon by his two daughters.

Abraham and Isaac. xxi. 1–7[4]. Isaac is born. xxi. 22–34[4]. Abraham worships Yahweh at Beer-sheba, and makes a covenant with Abimelech. xxii. 20–24. Abraham hears that his brother Nahor has children and grandchildren, one of the latter being Rebekah. xxiv. Abraham sends his steward Eliezer to his kinsfolk at Haran to fetch a wife for Isaac. He is divinely led to choose Rebekah, who returns with him and marries Isaac,

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[1] See Analysis, Table B.
[2] Cf. notes on this passage.
[3] Except xix. 29.
[4] Parts of these sections.

[Abraham having died during the servant's absence[1]]. xxv. 1–6 (out of place, or addition). Abraham's second wife, Keturah, and family; the provision made for them and Ishmael. 11b, 18. The homes of Isaac and Ishmael.

Isaac, Jacob, and Esau. xxv. 21–26a, 27–34. Esau and Jacob are born; Esau sells his birthright to Jacob for bread and lentil-soup. xxvi. 1–33. Isaac sojourns at Gerar, and is blessed by Yahweh. He makes Rebekah pass as his sister, but the fraud is discovered. His herdmen have disputes with the Philistines at Gerar as to the wells; but the dispute is ended by a covenant confirmed by an oath with the king, Abimelech, hence the place where the covenant was made is called Beer-sheba, i. e. Well of the Oath. xxvii. 1–45[2]. Jacob and Rebekah induce Isaac to bless Jacob, under the impression that he is blessing Esau. He subsequently blesses Esau. xxviii. 10–22[2]. Jacob flees to Haran; on his way he lights, without knowing it, on a holy place. Yahweh appears to him and blesses him. He calls the place Beth-el. xxix, xxx.[2] Jacob sojourns with Laban at Haran; serves him fourteen years for Rachel and Leah, by whom and their handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah, he has eleven sons and one daughter. He afterwards serves Laban for a share of the flock. xxxi. 1—xxxii. 2[3]. Jacob flees from Haran; Laban overtakes him in Gilead, and they make a covenant. xxxii. 3—xxxiii. 17[4]. Jacob prepares to meet Esau; at Peniel he wrestles with a supernatural being and receives the name Israel. Jacob and Esau meet and are reconciled; they separate, Jacob goes to Succoth, Esau to Mount Seir. [xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31[3]. Jacob at Shechem. Episode of Dinah[5]?] xxxv. 16–22. Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel. Reuben's sin. xxxvi. 21–39. The kings of Edom.

Jacob and Joseph. xxxvii.[3] Joseph rouses his brothers'

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[1] See on xxiv. 63.
[2] Parts of.
[3] Portions, see Table B.
[4] Mostly.
[5] It is not certain that J had a version of this story.

hatred by telling tales; but for Judah[1] they would have slain him; they sell him to Ishmaelites. xxxviii. Tamar, the wife of Judah's son Er, becomes by a stratagem the mother of Perez and Zerah by Judah. xxxix. Joseph is sold to an Egyptian[2], whom he serves with success and acceptance. His master's wife tempts him; and, on his refusal, gets him imprisoned on a false charge of attempted outrage. xli.[3] [4] He is released, and made vizier of Egypt; provides corn for a famine, and marries the daughter of Poti-phera, the priest of On [5]. xlii.[2] Joseph's brethren come to Egypt to buy corn, and meet Joseph. xliii.[6] Judah induces Israel to let them go to Egypt again and take Benjamin. They go; Joseph entertains them at a feast. xliv. A cup is hidden in Benjamin's sack; he is charged with stealing it, and Joseph proposes to keep him as a slave. Judah intercedes. xlv.[3] Joseph makes himself known, and sends for his father. xlvi. 1–5[3]. Israel goes down to Egypt. xlvi. 28—xlvii. 4, 6[b]. Joseph meets him; introduces five of the brethren to Pharaoh; they obtain a settlement in Goshen and the superintendentship of the royal cattle. xlvii. 12–27[a], 28–31. During the famine Joseph provides food for his kinsfolk, and sells corn to the Egyptians. He makes a new settlement of the land of Egypt. Joseph promises to bury Israel in Canaan. xlviii.[3] Israel adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and bestows his chief blessing on the younger, Ephraim. xlix. 1–27, 33[b]. Israel blesses his twelve sons, and dies. l. 1–11, 14. Joseph buries Israel in Canaan.

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[1] See note on xxxvii. 21.

[2] The reference to Potiphar is inserted by an editor.

[3] Portions.

[4] Perhaps J had also an account of Pharaoh's dream; see on xli.

[5] Probably J also mentioned the births of Ephraim and Manasseh.

[6] Mostly.

Elohistic Document (E).

(*a*) *Characteristics.* The original edition[1] of this document is generally held to have been compiled in the Northern Kingdom about B.C. 750, shortly before the fall of Samaria. Its author was, therefore, a contemporary, perhaps an elder contemporary, of Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, and may have written under Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah. This document, too[2], is now only known by the portions preserved in the Pentateuch and other historical books; but in the closing days of the Jewish Monarchy it was current as a small book or pamphlet, no doubt in the form of a roll. It further resembles the Primitive Document in being a collection of narratives and other material which the author or editor obtained from older books or from oral tradition. The Elohist, however, differs in some respects from the author of the Primitive Document. He is less of an antiquarian and more of a preacher; he is less interested in the poetry and dramatic force of the popular narratives, and more anxious about their religious influence. He does not merely bring out what is best in the old faith, but, like Isaiah and the prophets of the eighth century, he is moved by a flowing tide of spiritual life, thought, and fervour; he lived in a time when old things were

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[1] The Elohistic Document, as it was used for the compilation of the Pentateuch, &c. (see p. 9), is generally held to have been a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier work (E^1); it is fairly certain this earlier work made use of still earlier works. It is often difficult to distinguish with certainty and accuracy between (*a*) these very early works, (*b*) the first edition (E^1) of our work, and (*c*) the additions (E^2) made by the editor of the revised and enlarged edition. The two editions E^1 and $E^1 + E^2$ are so similar in style, spirit, and ideas, that what is said in this section will, for the most part, apply indifferently to both; but is written with special reference to E^1. Cf. p. 23.

The revised Elohistic Document $E = E^1 + E^2$ is usually dated about B.C. 650, in the reign of Manasseh of Judah.

[2] Cf. p. 23.

passing away and all things were becoming new. But, like all men who live in such a time, the Elohist does not represent the new dispensation, but the transition from the new to the old. Both consciously and unconsciously he is continually taking for granted the faith, the ideas, the language in which he was trained, even when they are logically inconsistent with the new truth of a higher Revelation. Thus he accepts the sacred pillars[1] of the ancient sanctuaries as perfectly legitimate[2]; though a later legislation denounced these pillars as superstitious relics of idolatry[3]. It is natural that, writing in a transition period, the Elohist should so adapt the ancient stories that they may serve to illustrate new truths. The name Yahweh was part of the revelation made to Israel through Moses[4]; hence the Elohist is careful not to use this name before his time. Isaiah and the prophets denounced idolatry; and the Elohist tells us how Jacob and Joshua destroyed idols[5]. He tries to avoid speaking of God as a man; God no longer walks, talks, and eats[6] with men, but reveals His will through dreams[7] and by voices from heaven[8]. Moreover, it is the Elohist who sets forth the Divine prohibition of the sacrifice of children in the story of the Offering of Isaac. The Elohist, again, shows a special moral feeling in telling how a patriarch's wife came to be taken into the harem of a Gentile king. The older narratives[9] would have allowed us to suppose that the patriarch spoke falsely in stating that his wife was his sister, but the Elohist is careful to tell us that she *was* his *half*-sister[10]. But we must not suppose that this writer's anxiety to point a moral makes him either dry or dull. We do not know exactly how much is his own and how much he borrowed from earlier authorities; but

[1] Maccebas. [2] Gen. xxxv. 14; Exod. xxiv. 4.
[3] Exod. xxiii. 24, JE; Deut. vii. 5. [4] Exod. iii. 15.
[5] Gen. xxxv. 4; Joshua xxiv. 14.
[6] Cf. p. 24. [7] Gen. xx. 3. [8] Gen. xxi. 17, xxii. 11.
[9] Gen. xii. 13, xxvi. 7. [10] Gen. xx. 12.

in any case his exquisite literary taste is shown in the beautiful stories of the Offering of Isaac, Jacob at Beth-el, and Joseph in Egypt.

(*b*) *Names and Symbols.* The *Elohistic Document* is so called because its author, like the Priestly Writer[1], held the theory that the Divine Name Yahweh was first revealed to Moses at Sinai. Hence the Elohist does not use this Name in *Genesis*, but the Name *Elohim*, 'God.'

At one time the Elohistic and Priestly Documents, because they both used Elohim and avoided Yahweh in *Genesis*, were supposed to be one work, and were called the *Elohist*, or the *Grundschrift*, i.e. the 'Fundamental Document.' When the two were separated, it was at first supposed that our Elohistic Document was the later, and it was called the *Later* or *Second Elohist.* The Elohistic and the Primitive Documents are sometimes spoken of together as the *Prophetic Documents*[2].

The usual symbol for this document is E; B has also been used (by Dillmann), and the different strata (see p. 30) in it have been denoted by E^1, E^2, E^3.

(*c*) *Contents.* xv. (A few fragments of[3]). *God's Covenant with Abram.*

xx. 1–17. *Abraham at Gerar.* Abraham comes to sojourn in Gerar. Sarah, supposed, on his own showing, to be his sister, is taken into the harem of the king Abimelech, but is released on account of the remonstrance of God, and the plague sent by Him[4]. Abimelech compensates Abraham, and invites him to settle in his land. In response to Abraham's prayer the plague is removed. [*Birth of Isaac*[5].]

xxi. 8–21. *Hagar and Ishmael driven out.* At the feast made at the weaning of Isaac, Sarah is jealous of

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[1] Cf. pp. 34 ff. [2] See p. 24.
[3] See Analysis, Table B, and cf. p. 27.
[4] See note on xx. 17, 18. [5] See Remark, p. 52.

Ishmael, and demands that he and Hagar shall be driven out. Abraham, by God's direction, consents; they are sent away, and Ishmael is on the point of dying of thirst when God shows Hagar a well. Ishmael grows up in the desert, and marries an Egyptian wife.

xxi. 22–24, 27, 31, 34. *The Covenant with Abimelech.* A covenant is made, confirmed with an oath. Hence the well was called *Beer-sheba*[1].

xxii. 1–13, 19. *The offering up of Isaac.* God bids Abraham offer Isaac as a sacrifice. They journey together to the appointed place; Abraham builds an altar, places Isaac upon it, and prepares to slay him. An angel stays his hand, and he offers instead a ram he sees caught in a neighbouring thicket. They return to Beer-sheba.

xxvii. 1–45[2]. Jacob and Rebekah induce Isaac to bless Jacob, under the impression that he is blessing Esau. He subsequently blesses Esau. xxviii. 10–22[3]. Jacob flees to Haran; on his way he lights, without knowing it, on a holy place. God appears to him and blesses him. He calls the place Beth-el, and promises to pay tithes. xxix, xxx.[3] Jacob sojourns with Laban at Haran; serves him fourteen years for Rachel and Leah, by whom and their handmaids he has eleven sons and a daughter. He afterwards serves for a share of the flock. xxxi. 1—xxxii. 2[3]. Jacob flees from Laban; Laban overtakes him at Gilead; they make a covenant. Jacob continues his journey, and meets angels at Mahanaim. xxxii. 3—xxxiii. 17[3]. Jacob's wrestling; his new name, Israel; his reconciliation with Esau. xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31[4]. Jacob at Shechem. Episode of Dinah. xxxv. 1–8[4], 14. Jacob goes to Beth-el and fulfils his vow. xxxv. 16–22? Birth of Benjamin, and death of Rachel; Reuben's sin.

[1] Which might mean either 'Well of the Oath' or 'Well of the Seven.'

[2] Parts of. [3] Portions.

[4] In part, see Table B.

xxxvii.[1] Joseph rouses his brothers' envy by dreams of pre-eminence; but for Reuben they would have slain him; they put him in a pit from which he is taken by Midianites, who sell him for a slave in Egypt to Potiphar, the 'captain of the guard.' xl. The chief butler and chief baker are placed in custody of the captain of the guard; Joseph interprets their dreams; the chief butler is restored to favour, but forgets Joseph. xli.[1] Pharaoh dreams a dream, which his magicians cannot interpret; the chief butler mentions Joseph, who interprets the dream as a prediction of a famine. Joseph is appointed to provide for this famine; he marries, and has two sons. xlii.[2] The brethren come to Joseph to buy corn; he treats them as spies; ascertains that they have a younger brother; lets them go, on condition that they bring him; and keeps Simeon as a hostage. When they come home, and tell their story, Jacob refuses to send Benjamin. xliii.[3] The brethren visit Egypt a second time [with Benjamin][4]. xlv.[3] Joseph makes himself known[5], and sends for Jacob. xlvi. 1–5[2]. Jacob goes down to Egypt, and sacrifices at Beer-sheba on his way. xlviii.[2] Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and bestows the chief blessing on the younger, Ephraim. l. 15–22. Joseph promises to continue his kindness to his brethren after Jacob's death. Joseph lives to see his great grandchildren. He makes the Israelites swear to take his bones to Canaan. He dies.

Priestly Document [P].

(*a*) *Characteristics.* This book, like those already described[5], was originally a separate book or pamphlet, and was also, after a fashion, a very short history of Israel. But it was chiefly written for the sake of the laws which it records; to show how, when, and why they

[1] In part, see Table B. [2] Mostly.
[3] Portions. [4] See Remark, p. 52 [5] See pp. 23, 30.

were made, and how earlier events had prepared the way for them. The author lived in Babylon after the Exile; he had read the older books, and also Babylonian annals of ancient times, and poems on the beginnings of the gods and the world. But he did not merely piece together bits from other works. These did not always tell the story clearly or fully, and they sometimes contradicted each other. The Priestly writer took into account what he had read, and what he knew of man and God, and tried to think out how things must really have happened. He calculated dates, and how men and peoples were related to each other, and so made a story, first of mankind, and then of Israel, from the Creation to the death of Joshua. *Genesis* contains those portions of this book which relate to the period before the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt.

The Priestly writer was inspired to see that:—

> 'Through the ages one unchanging purpose runs;'

he saw God working out His ends throughout the whole course of Nature and History; heaven and earth, men and nations, had been formed, controlled, and directed in order that Israel might fulfil its mission and achieve its destiny. If we are to understand this view of the Divine purpose, we must remember that Israel was the forerunner of Christ.

Moreover,

> 'The thoughts of men are wider with the process of the suns;'

our author wrote towards the close of the period of O. T. revelation, when Israel had been taught of God many truths that were unknown in more primitive times. He tells his story so that it may illustrate the fuller Divine teaching; and he leaves out anything that might seem to clash with it. His account of the Creation is the last of many editions of an ancient Semitic story; but he has purged it of its polytheistic superstition, and made it a noble and

simple declaration of the making of all things by God, who is One, holy and benevolent.

In this document, too, we read 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself[1],' and that 'God created man in His own image[2].'

Some of the more technical characteristics are given in the following paragraphs.

The following section will illustrate the interest shown by this document in genealogies and chronology, an interest which extends to statistics generally, e.g. the dimensions of the ark[3], and the minute details as to the tabernacle and its furniture[4]. Such features are due to the legal nature of the work, which dominates even the sections of it found in *Genesis*. It is true there are few actual laws, only those of the Sabbath[5] and of Circumcision[6]. But the way in which these are introduced reveals the character of other narratives; one object in telling the stories of the Creation and of Abraham is to give the account of the origin of these observances, and to furnish the great historical precedents, or 'leading cases.' The genealogies prove Israel's title to Canaan and to pre-eminence among mankind, partly by its descent in the direct male line, through eldest sons, from the first man who was made in the image of God; and partly, where the descent is through a younger son, by special Divine choice and covenant.

As the Priestly Document regards the Divine Name Yahweh, and the Mosaic laws, as revelations to Moses of matters hitherto unknown to men, it abstains from using Yahweh, and substitutes Elohim[7] or El Shaddai[8]; the Patriarchs neither erect altars nor offer sacrifices; and there is no recognition of the difference between clean and unclean meats.

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[1] Lev. xix. 18. [2] Gen. i. 27.
[3] Gen. vi. 13–16, P. [4] Exod. xxv—xxxi, xxxv—xl, P.
[5] Gen. ii. 1–4[a]. [6] Gen. xvii.
[7] 'God.' [8] 'God Almighty.'

The document has a very characteristic vocabulary and style, which have much in common with exilic and post-exilic literature. Any reader who carefully examines the opening section in *Genesis* will note the frequent recurrence of the same words, phrases, and formulae.

(*b*) *Names and Symbols.* This document has been called (1) the *Book of the Four Covenants*[1], because it records the covenants made by God with Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses; (2) the *First* or *Earlier Elohist*, by those who at one time regarded it as the earliest of the Pentateuchal documents: *Elohist* because it uses the Divine Name *Elohim* in *Genesis*. (3) The term *Second* or *Later Elohist*, on the other hand, has sometimes been used for it by those who hold the current modern view that it is the latest of the main documents of the Pentateuch. (4) This document was part of what was once known as the *Grundschrift* or *Fundamental Document*[2], or as the *Book of Origins*, and the title *Grundschrift* has sometimes been used roughly for it by itself, but (5) the usual term for it is the *Priestly Code* or *Document*.

The ordinary symbol for this work is P. The symbols A, Q have also been used for it, or the bulk of it; and the symbols P^1, P^2, P^3, or P^h, P^g, P^s for the successive strata of it; P^1 or P^h is also known as H or the *Law of Holiness*. The Priestly portions of *Genesis* are chiefly P^2 or P^g, i.e. they belong to the main work of the Priestly writers, and contain little of the laws which they took over from earlier codes, or of the additions which later writers made to their work.

(*c*) *Contents.* The Priestly Document in *Genesis* mainly consists of genealogies and chronological statistics, which, taken together, furnish a complete genealogy from Adam to the Twelve Patriarchs, and an equally complete scheme of chronology for the same period. It consists, in *Genesis*, of ten sections, each headed the 'Generations of ——'[3].

[1] So Wellhausen. [2] See p. 32.

[3] *Toledoth*; see note on ii. 4.

The Priestly narrative in our book may be summarized thus:—

(1) i. 1—ii. 4a. *The Generations of Heaven and Earth.* God, in seven days, reduces to order the primaeval chaos and forms sea and land and heavenly bodies; creates all kinds of vegetable and animal life; and, last of all, man in His own image. He rests on the seventh day, and thus institutes the Sabbath.

(2) v. 1–28, 30–32. *The Generations of Adam.* Genealogy and chronological statistics from Adam to the three sons of Noah.

(3) Portions[1] of vi. 9—ix. 29. *The Generations of Noah.* The Flood is caused by the breaking up of the fountains of the abyss and the opening of the windows of heaven. Noah and his family, and two each of every kind of beast and bird, are saved in the ark; all other living creatures are destroyed. The Flood lasts a year and ten days; the stages of its progress are dated according to the years, &c., of Noah's life. God makes a covenant with Noah, and gives the rainbow as a sign.

(4) Portions of x.[2] *The Generations of the Sons of Noah.* A distribution of the peoples of the Hebrew world between the three sons of Noah.

(5) xi. 10–26. *The Generations of Shem.* Genealogy and chronological statistics from Shem to the three sons of Terah.

(6) xi. 27, 31, 32. *The Generations of Terah.* Terah's family. Terah, Abram, Lot, and Sarai migrate from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran, where Terah dies.

xii. 4b, 5. Abram, aged 75, leaves Haran for Canaan with his wife Sarai, and with Lot; but (xiii. 6, 11b), separates from Lot, because their herds are too large to pasture together.

xvi. 1a, 3, 15, 16. Sarai, being childless, gives Hagar to Abram, and Ishmael is born when Abram is 86.

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[1] See Analysis, Table B. [2] See Analysis, Table B; cf. p. 26.

xvii. When Abram is 99 God changes his name to Abraham, Sarai's to Sarah; makes a covenant with him; institutes circumcision as the sign of the covenant; and promises him a son by Sarah, who is now 90.

xix. 29. God overthrows the cities of the Plain, but rescues Lot.

xxi. 1–5[1]. Isaac is born and circumcised.

xxiii. Sarah dies at the age of 127, and Abram buries her at Machpelah near Hebron, in a grave purchased from the Hittites. xxv. 7–10. Abram dies at the age of 175, and Isaac and Ishmael bury him at Machpelah.

(7) xxv. 12–17. *The Generations of Ishmael.* The descendants of Ishmael; Ishmael dies at the age of 137.

(8) xxv. 19, &c. *The Generations of Isaac.* xxv. 19, 20. Isaac, aged 40, marries Rebekah; [Birth of Esau and Jacob][2]. xxvi. 34, 35. Esau, at the age of forty, grieves his parents by marrying two Hittite wives. xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9. In order that Jacob may not marry a Hittite he is sent to Paddan-aram to marry a daughter of Laban. Esau, perceiving the offence he has given by marrying Hittites, marries an Ishmaelite wife. xxix. 24, 28^{b}, 29, xxx. 4^{a}, 21, 22^{a}. Jacob marries [Leah][3] and Rachel, and their handmaids are Zilpah and Bilhah. Birth of Dinah. xxxi. 18. He leaves Paddan-aram to return to Isaac. xxxv. 9–13, 15. As Jacob is on his way home God appears to him at a certain place and changes his name to Israel; Jacob names the place Beth-el. xxxv. 22^{b}–29. Jacob's twelve sons. Jacob comes to Isaac at Hebron. Isaac dies at the age of 180; Esau and Jacob bury him.

(9) xxxvi. 1–30, 40–43, xxxvii.[3] *The Generations of Esau.* His wives[4] and descendants. He separates from Jacob because their herds are too large to pasture together, and goes out of Canaan into Edom.

(10) xxxvii. 2^{a}, &c. *The Generations of Jacob.* [Some

[1] In part. [2] See Remark, p. 52.
[3] See Remark, p. 52, and cf. xxxv. 23.
[4] See commentary.

preliminary account of Joseph[1].] xli. 46. Joseph, at the age of thirty, appears before Pharaoh, and is made his vizier. xlvi. 6-27. Jacob and his family, sixty-six in all—the names are given—go down to Joseph in Egypt; meanwhile Joseph has married Asenath, the daughter of an Egyptian priest, and has two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. xlvii. 5^b, 6^a, 7-11, 27^b. Pharaoh settles Israel in Goshen; Jacob, at the age of 130, blesses Pharaoh. The Israelites prosper and multiply. xlvii. 28, xlviii. 3-6. At the age of 147 Jacob blesses Joseph and adopts his two sons. xlix. 29-33, l. 12, 13. Jacob dies, and, in accordance with his expressed wishes, is buried with Abraham and Isaac at Machpelah.

Contents of the Priestly Document in the rest of the Hexateuch[2]. The main sections of this document outside of *Genesis* are Exodus xxv—xxxi, xxxv—xl, the whole of *Leviticus*, Numbers i—x, xvii—xix, xxv—xxxi, xxxiii—xxxvi; also in the rest of the Hexateuch portions of P are combined with the other documents.

The history is carried on in a continuation of the genealogical and chronological scheme of *Genesis*; and is used as a framework for the numerous laws which form the bulk of the document, and have given it the name of the *Priestly Code*.

The history comes to an end with the death of *Joshua*; but the historical books *Judges—Kings* have received additions by writers who wrote under the influence of the Priestly Document; and *Chronicles* is a re-statement of the history of Israel from this point of view.

5. How GENESIS has been handed down to us.

The original copy of *Genesis* has long since perished; and the book is now only known to us from manuscripts written long after the time of Christ, and from editions

[1] See Remark, p. 5a.

[2] For details see volumes on *Exodus*, &c.

printed from such manuscripts, and translations made from them.

The oldest manuscripts now in existence in which *Genesis* is contained are those of the LXX or Greek translation. These are the great manuscripts of the Greek Bible, containing the N. T. in the original Greek and the Greek translation of the O. T. The most famous, and probably the oldest, of these is the Vatican Codex[1], so called because it is preserved in the Papal Library of the Vatican at Rome. Next in age and importance is the Sinaitic Codex[2], so called because it was found in a monastery on Mount Sinai. This manuscript, however, only contains portions of the Greek *Genesis*. These two manuscripts were written in the fourth century of the Christian era. Another important manuscript of the Greek Bible is the Alexandrine Codex[3], which was once preserved at Alexandria, and was presented to Charles I by a patriarch of Alexandria, and is now in the British Museum. This manuscript was written in the fifth century, and contains most of *Genesis*. There are also many later manuscripts of the Greek Bible. The translation of our book which is preserved in these various copies was probably made in the third century before Christ. We must remember that the oldest existing manuscripts of this Greek translation were written in the fourth century of our era, about 600 years after the translation was made, about 700 years after the completion of the Pentateuch, and perhaps about 1600 years after the time of Moses[4].

The next oldest manuscripts in which *Genesis* is found are those containing the Latin, Egyptian, and Syriac

[1] Often denoted by the symbol B.

[2] Usually denoted by the symbol ℵ, the Hebrew letter *Aleph*.

[3] Usually denoted by the symbol A.

[4] Dating the completion of the Pentateuch about B. C. 400, and the Exodus about B. C. 1300; the latter date is quite uncertain.

Versions of the O. T. These translations were made between A. D. 150–400, and the oldest manuscripts of them which contain our book or portions of it were written between A. D. 400–600. These versions were either made from or influenced by the LXX or Greek translation.

The oldest Hebrew manuscript containing *Genesis* whose date is known belongs to the ninth century after Christ, and is not written in the characters used by the ancient Israelites, but in the character used in printed Hebrew Bibles, and known as 'Square Hebrew.' It is really an Aramaic character. There are also manuscripts preserved amongst the Samaritans, or obtained from them. These are written in a form of the old Israelite character, and are known as the Samaritan Pentateuch. Probably none of them are older than the ninth century A. D. Thus, as far as we know, the oldest existing manuscript of the Hebrew *Genesis* was written about 1200 years after the completion of the Pentateuch, and perhaps considerably more than 2000 years after the time of Moses[1]. Thus our oldest manuscripts are those of a version, and were copied about 700 years after our book was completed; and our oldest Hebrew manuscripts were not written till about 500 years later. During these long intervals the book must have been copied again and again. Each copying was an opportunity for making mistakes or intentional alterations; and the reader may naturally suppose that *Genesis*, as we find it in these manuscripts, is very different from the same book as it stood when the Pentateuch was completed. No doubt there have been alterations, but the changes were limited by the care the Jews took in copying the O. T. During the first few centuries of the Christian era they devised an elaborate system to secure the accurate copying of their Scriptures. They counted clauses, words, and even letters. Hence we are fairly sure that our Hebrew

[1] Cf. footnote to p. 41.

manuscripts are almost identical with those in circulation among the Jews about A. D. 200–400; still, however, about 600 years after the completion of the Pentateuch.

We must frankly admit that we are uncertain as to the original form of many passages, some of which, unfortunately, are important and interesting, for instance, the clause in Jacob's Blessing on Judah translated in the English versions, 'Until Shiloh come[1].' But this uncertainty is comparatively limited; with the various manuscripts at our disposal we are practically sure that the original *Genesis* was substantially the same as the book we now have. In order to give the full reasons for our assurance we should have to enter into many technical details, but we may state one leading consideration, which will be easily understood without any technical knowledge. Our present manuscripts are the result of three distinct processes: (*a*) a process of frequent copying and recopying of Greek manuscripts of a Greek translation; (*b*) a similar process of copying Hebrew manuscripts in the 'Square Hebrew' character; (*c*) a third like process of copying the Samaritan Pentateuch[2], i.e. of copying Hebrew manuscripts in the Samaritan variety of the ancient Hebrew character[3]. In each process mistakes would arise, but not the same mistakes. The blunders and changes made by Greek scribes copying Greek manuscripts would seldom correspond exactly to those made by Jewish scribes copying Hebrew manuscripts. And again, the mistakes made by Jewish scribes copying manuscripts in the 'Square Hebrew' character would not, as a rule, be the same as those made by Samaritan scribes copying Hebrew written in Samaritan characters. Hence when these three

[1] Gen. xlix. 10. [2] See above, p. 42.

[3] For the sake of simplicity we have ignored MSS. of versions other than the Greek or LXX. The existence of these additional authorities strengthens the argument but does not alter its character.

authorities agree in giving the same texts, or a Greek rendering equivalent to the Hebrew of the Hebrew manuscripts, we may reasonably conclude that we have something very like the original. Now these three authorities, the LXX in its Greek manuscripts, the Hebrew as given in the 'Square Hebrew' manuscripts[1], and the Hebrew as given in the Samaritan manuscripts, give us substantially the same narratives; that is to say, the narratives as we know them in our English Bibles.

We have spoken of the various ancient manuscripts, from these were derived the printed editions of the Hebrew O. T., and of the Greek, Latin, and other translations of the O. T. Our A. V. is a revision of previous English translations which were largely influenced by the Vulgate or Latin translation made by the learned Latin divine or 'Father,' Jerome, *c.* A. D. 400. This Latin translation was a revision of previous translations made from the LXX. The R. V. is a revision of the Authorised.

The English Bible, as we are familiar with it, contains many features that were not in the Hebrew, especially in the A. V. The title 'Genesis' or 'Beginning' or 'Origin' is taken from the LXX. The Jews used as title the first word of the book, *Bereshith*, which means 'In the beginning.' The contents of the various chapters, and the dates in the margins of copies of the A. V., are interpolations, and do not correspond to anything in the Hebrew. The division into chapters and verses was not present in the original book. The verses appear to correspond substantially to those into which the book was divided by Jewish scholars in the early centuries after Christ. The division into chapters seems to have been first made in manuscripts of Jerome's Latin translation, the Vulgate, early in the thirteenth century. According to one authority, this division was made by

[1] Called the 'Massoretic Text.'

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. From the Vulgate it passed into Hebrew, English, and other Bibles.

6. How our GENESIS has been divided up into its original documents.

We have explained[1] that *Genesis* was compiled by a series of editings from three or more ancient works. None of these works survive, except so far as portions of them are contained in *Genesis*. Clearly it was a very hard task to determine from which original document each section of our book was taken; indeed, it is a task which can never be fully accomplished. Nevertheless, numerous scholars belonging to almost every branch of the Christian Church have laboured at this task with patient industry during a period of more than a hundred years; and their labours have been crowned with a large measure of success. There is very general agreement as to which portions belonged to the Priestly Document[2], and as to which portions of i—xix belonged to the Primitive Document[3]. With regard to the portions of xx—l which do not belong to the Priestly Document, some are assigned with comparative certainty to the Primitive or the Elohistic Document[4], as the case may be; but there are others the origin of which is uncertain, they may have come from either.

An exhaustive discussion of the reasons why the several parts of *Genesis* have been assigned to one or other document would fill many large volumes; but we may very briefly indicate the character of the methods of analysis. The first clue was the use of the Divine Names. It was noticed that in some passages *Yahweh*, LORD, was used, and in others *Elohim*, God[5]. An examination of the Yahweh passages showed that they were similar in language, style, and ideas, and in historical and religious

[1] See pp. 9, 16. [2] Pp. 34 ff. [3] Pp. 22 ff.
[4] P. 30.
[5] On the use in ii, iii, of *Yahweh Elohim* see note on ii. 4.

standpoint; so that they seemed to be portions of one work, which has been styled the Yahwistic, Jehovistic, or, in this book, the Primitive Document[1]. The Elohim passages in chapters i—xix were also very similar to each other, and very different from the Yahweh passages, so that they seemed to be portions of another work, the Priestly Document[2]. But the Elohim passages in chapters xx—l were by no means all alike. The study of the Elohim passages in i—xix revealed the peculiarities of the Priestly Document, and enabled critics to ascertain that many of the Elohim passages in xx—l also belonged to this document. The other, non-Priestly, Elohim passages in xx—l also closely resembled each other; they differed widely from the Priestly passages, but had a good deal in common with the Yahwistic or Primitive sections. These non-Priestly Elohim passages therefore seemed to come from a third work, known as the Elohistic Document[3].

There are, however, in *Genesis* a number of passages which do not contain either Yahweh or Elohim; but the characteristics of the three documents were ascertained, as we have seen, from the passages which do contain Divine Names. As a rule some of these characteristics occurred in the other passages, and thus they too were assigned to one or other document.

In some cases, however, the analysis cannot be completed. Apart from the use of Divine Names, the Elohistic, and the Yahwistic, or Primitive Document, are sometimes so similar, that, when the Divine Names do not occur, it may be clear that a passage belongs to one or other of these two, but we may not know which; or,

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[1] A closer examination revealed minor differences which show that this document was itself compiled from earlier works; cf. p. 23.

[2] See pp. 34 ff.

[3] In this also there were minor differences which pointed to compilation from earlier works: see p. 32.

again, it may be clear that a passage is compiled from these two, but we may not be able to say how much comes from each. Moreover, there are phrases and sentences which present no special peculiarities, and may have been taken from any of the three documents[1]. Often the most important verses of a passage can be clearly recognized as coming from one or other document, but it is impossible to be certain as to the exact point at which an extract from one document ends and an extract from another begins. Moreover, at the point of union between extracts from two documents the editors often inserted a few words of their own to make the whole run smoothly. As the editors sometimes imitate the style of the documents, it is not always easy to distinguish a fragment of a document from an editorial addition.

7. The Interpretation of Genesis.

If we take into account the varying views held by different scholars, we shall have to consider the probability that the *Book of Genesis* may include various kinds of material which may be roughly classified as follows:—

(*a*) *Ordinary History.* The story of Joseph, for instance, may be taken as the account of events which really happened to a historical individual, Joseph, who really existed. Such history might be supposed to be accurate in every detail by those who hold the strictest theory of verbal inspiration.

(*b*) *Tribal History.* Narratives which seem at first sight to be concerned with individuals may really be setting forth, in this somewhat figurative fashion, the relations and fortunes of tribes. For instance, the account in chapter xxxiv of the seduction of Dinah, and the revenge taken by Simeon and Levi, is often interpreted as referring to an attack on Shechem by the two tribes of Simeon and Levi.

[1] For the sake of simplicity the editorial additions are mostly ignored in this section.

(*c*) *Typical Narratives.* Portions of some of the stories have been supposed to have arisen through attributing to tribal heroes, like Abraham and Jacob, experiences familiar in early days. We use the word 'familiar' in a limited sense, as the experiences which popular tradition loves to describe are usually romantic, striking, or exceptional; e.g. the risks run by Sarah and Rebekah when sojourning in Egypt or at Gerar, and the meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the well.

(*d*) *Israelite Traditions.* Some scholars would think the term 'Ordinary History,' as applied to any part of *Genesis*, to be misleading; and would yet hold that the book includes ancient Israelite traditions, which had their origin in actual individuals and events.

(*e*) *Semitic Cosmology and Accounts of the Beginnings of the Nations and of Civilization.* It is commonly held that many of the earlier sections of *Genesis* go back to literature or traditions older than the existence of Israel as a separate people. The accounts of the Creation and the Flood have much in common with the Babylonian narratives on the same subjects. The Biblical stories on these and other topics are commonly held to be Israelite versions of the narratives which arose amongst the Semites to account for the Beginnings of the World, of Man, and of Culture. Such narratives are really a picturesque way of setting forth scientific[1] theory. In dealing with an ancient work, like *Genesis*, compiled from still more ancient sources, we cannot say how much of its contents belong to each of these classes of material. But the following may be taken as a very rough and approximate account of views held by many modern scholars.

The Priestly Document is an edifying history of the religion and religious standing of Israel, written in Oriental fashion, according to which literal statements of fact, picturesque imagery, and figurative narratives are combined without any attempt to indicate which is which.

[1] i.e. 'scientific' according to the ideas of the times.

Of the older material, the *incidents* from the Creation to the Tower of Babel belong to (*e*) *Semitic Cosmology*; but the genealogies in chapter x, and, perhaps, some other items, are *Tribal History*.

Chapter xiv (Abraham, Amraphel [Hammurabi], Lot, and Melchizedek) is often regarded as *Ordinary History*.

The remainder of the material is mostly *Tribal History*, often expanded into *Typical Narratives*; but in these there are embedded *Israelite Traditions* and probably actual facts as to historical individuals, such as Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph.

The *Tribal History* recorded in *Genesis* may be briefly summarized thus[1]:—

The nations known to Israel were assigned to three groups[2], (*a*) *Japheth*, including the less-known peoples to the north and west; (*b*) *Ham*, including Egypt, Canaan, and many Arabian tribes; (*c*) *Shem*, including many Arabian tribes, and the tribes related to or descended from Abraham.

The Israelites considered themselves as akin[3] to the Syrians of Haran; to Moab and Ammon (Lot); to the Ishmaelite, Nahorite, and Keturaean Arabs, including Midian and Sheba, and especially to Edom. Edom was a monarchy before Israel[4].

Israel was formed[5] by the confederation of various tribes—in the first instance, Jacob, Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, and Zilpah; which became by various changes the Twelve Tribes. During this time Israel was involved in various relations, peaceful and hostile, with the Syrians of Haran, Edom, and the Canaanites.

In early times Reuben was the leading tribe, but lost its leadership. In a conflict with the Canaanites[7] a tribe

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[1] For details, see notes on the several sections.

[2] Ch. x; as far as possible reference to discrepancies has been reserved for the detailed notes.

[3] xi, xvi, xix, xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxix, xxx.

[4] xxxvi. [5] xxix—l. [6] xlix. 3, 4. [7] xxxiv.

named Dinah was annihilated, and the tribes of Simeon and Levi were reduced to mere remnants. The tribe of Judah[1] was largely formed out of Canaanite or Edomite elements; its clans in early times were Er, Onan, and Shelah: but Er and Onan were destroyed, and afterwards replaced by Perez and Zerah. The tribe of Joseph was divided in later times into Ephraim and Manasseh. In earlier times Manasseh, later on Ephraim, was the more important of these two[2].

Our uncertainty as to the exact character of different sections of the book may affect our views as to the methods of Divine revelation, but it does not in any way invalidate the claim of *Genesis* to be regarded as an inspired record of revelation. Our Lord's parables show us that God can teach us by narratives which are not literal history; so that we have no right to set aside the Divine teaching in *Genesis* if it is shown to come to us through similar narratives. To speak of tribes or nations as if they were individuals is a perfectly legitimate form of history, when once it is recognized and understood. But when tribal history is told in this way it naturally assumes forms which are true of individual life and convey lessons to individuals; indeed, this method of setting forth the history of a community is only possible because social life is individual life raised to a higher power. The editors who compiled *Genesis* in its final form intended the accounts of the Patriarchs to be read as edifying narratives of the lives of individuals, whose examples might warn, encourage, and otherwise instruct the readers. The story of these lives was not told in the spirit of modern scientific history, but in order to illustrate moral truths; and for this purpose we can still use them, whatever our view may be as to the amount of history they contain.

It must also be remembered that the Priestly Document

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[1] xxxviii. [2] xli. 61 f., xlviii.

was intended to supersede the older documents, and to suppress the more anthropomorphic narratives, e.g. the statement that Yahweh built up the first woman out of a rib which He had taken from the side of the first man. Popular feeling was too strong for the Priestly theologians, and they had to be content with setting their own account side by side with the older narratives in the complete Pentateuch. But the final editors worked in the spirit and under the influence of the Priestly Document. We are convinced[1] that they intended that the anthropomorphic narratives should be corrected or interpreted according to the more enlightened views of the Priestly writer. For instance, they did not intend that the building up of Eve out of Adam's rib should be taken literally.

[1] This view, perhaps, is hardly that of the majority of scholars.

TABLES.

A. Symbols.

The various documents, &c., are denoted by the following symbols, which are inserted in square brackets in the R. V. text, pp. 73 ff., e. g. [P], at the beginning of each section of a document. Also the document or documents from which a page or sections of a page were taken are indicated at the top of each page, e. g. P, or P, J, E, &c.

J. The Primitive Document (or Yahwistic or Jehovistic Document), using *Yahweh* (Jehovah, Lord) in *Genesis*[1].

E. The Elohistic Document, using *Elohim* (God) in *Genesis*[2].

JE. The Twofold Document, compiled from J and E. This symbol (JE) is placed against passages derived from this combined document, in cases where it is not certain to which of the three, J, E, or R^{JE}, the passage belongs; or how the passage should be divided between J and E[3] and R^{JE}.

P. The Priestly Document, also using *Elohim* (God) in *Genesis*[4].

R. Additions by one or other of the various editors: (*a*) the editor, denoted by R^{JE}, who combined J and E into JE; or (*b*) the editor, denoted by R^{D}, who combined JE with Deuteronomy D; or (*c*) the editor, denoted by R^{P}, who combined P with JED, and completed the Pentateuch[5].

Remark. When some incident is only found in one or more of the documents, and not in the others, it is often probable that it was contained originally in the latter document or documents, but has been omitted in the combined work to avoid repetition; cf. p. 11.

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[1] See p. 22. [2] See p. 30. [3] See p. 12.
[4] See p. 34. [5] See p. 14.

B. Table of the Analysis[1].

(*a*) I—XIX.

J	P	R
ii. 4*b*—iv.	i. 1—ii. 4*a*.	
v. 29.	v. 1–28, 30–32.	
vi. 1–8.	vi. 9–22.	
vii. 1–5, 7, 10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22 f.	vii. 6, 8, 9, 11, 13–16*a*, 18–21, 24.	
viii. 2*b*, 3*a*, 6–12, 13*b*, 20–22.	viii. 1, 2*a*, 3*b*–5, 13*a*, 14–19.	
ix. 18–27.	ix. 1–17, 28, 29.	
x. 8–19, 21, 24–30.	x. 1–7, 20, 22 f., 31 f.	
xi. 1–9, 28–30.	xi. 10–27, 31 f.	Unknown Source xiv.
xii. 1–4*a*, 6–20.	xii. 4*b*, 5.	
xiii. 1–5, 7–11*a*, 12–18.	xiii. 6, 11*b*.	
xv.[2]		
xvi. 1*b*[2], 2, 4–14.	xvi. 1*a*, 3, 15 f., xvii.	
xviii.		
xix. 1–28, 30–38.	xix. 29.	

(*b*) XX—L.

J	E	P	R
	xx. 1–17.		xx. 18.
xxi. 1*a*, 2*a*, 7, 25, 26, 28–30.	xxi. 6, 8–24, 27, 31.	xxi. 1*b*, 2*b*–5.	
xxi. 32–34.			
xxii. 20–24.	xxii. 1–13, 19.		xxii. 14–18.
		xxiii.	
xxiv.			
xxv. 1–6, 11*b*, 18, 21–26*a*, 27–34.		xxv. 7–11*a*, 12–17, 19, 20, 26*b*.	
xxvi. 6–14, 16, 17, 19–33.		xxvi. 34, 35.	xxvi. 1–5, 15, 18.
xxvii. 1–45.		xxvii. 46.	
xxviii. 10–22.		xxviii. 1–9.	

[1] For symbols J, E, P, R see p. 52.

[2] Portions of xv are ascribed to E.

(*b*) XX—L. (*cont.*)

J	E	P	R
xxix. 2–14, 31–35.	xxix. 1.	xxix. 24, 28*b*, 29.	
xxix. 15–23, 25–28*a*, 30.			
xxx. 1–3, 4*b*–20, 22*b*–43.		xxx. 4*a*, 21, 22*a*.	
xxxi. 1–18*a*, 19–50.		xxxi. 18*b*.	
	xxxi. 51–55.		
xxxii. 3–32[1].	xxxii. 1f. [24–32[2]].		
xxxiii. 1–17[1].	xxxiii. 1–17[2].	xxxiii. 18*a*[2].	xxxiii. 18[2] — xxxiv. 31.
xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31 is based on J and E, and contains fragments of both.			
	xxxv. 1–5, 7, 8, 14.	xxxv. 6[2], 9–13, 15, 22*b*–29.	
xxxv. 16–22*a*.			
xxxvi. 31–39.		xxxvi. 1–30, 40–43.	
xxxvii. 2*b*–4, 12–13*a*, 14*b*, 18, 21, 25*b*–27, 28*b*, 32*a*, 33*b*, 35.	xxxvii. 5–11, 13*b*, 14*a*, 15–17, 19, 20. 22–25*a*, 28*a*, 28*c*–31, 32*b*, 33*a*, 34, 36.	xxxvii. 1, 2*a*.	
xxxviii.			
xxxix[3].			xxxix. 1*b*[4].
	xl[5].		xl. 3*b*, 15*b*[6].
	xli. 1–32[7].		xli. 14*b*[8].
xli. 33–37.			
xli. 41–45.	xli. 38–40.	xli. 46.	
xli. 47–49.			
	xli. 50–52[9].		xli. 50*b*[10].
xli. 53–57.			
xlii. 1–7.			

[1] Mostly. [2] Portions. [3] Except 1*b*.
[4] 'Potiphar . . . guard.' [5] Except 1*b*, 15*b*, &c.
[6] From 'into the prison,' and from 'and here'; for one or two other fragments of R see commentary.
[7] Except 14*b*. [8] 'And they brought . . . dungeon.'
[9] Except 50*b*. [10] From 'which Asenath.'

(*b*) XX—L. (*cont.*)

J	E	P	R
xlii. 27, 28*a*, 38.	xlii. 8–26, 28*b*–37.		
xliii. 1–13, 15–23*a*, 25–34.	xliii. 14, 23*b*.		
xliv.			
xlv. 1—xlvi. 5.		xlvi. 6–27.	
xlvi. 28—xlvii. 4, 6*b*.		xlvii. 5, 6*a*, 7–11.	
xlvii. 12–27*a*, 29–31.		xlvii. 27*b*, 28.	
xlviii. 1, 2, 7–22.		xlviii. 3–6.	
xlix. 1–27, 33*b*.		xlix. 28*b*–33*ac*.	xlix. 28*a*.
l. 1–11, 14.	l. 15–26.	l. 12, 13.	

C. Comparative Table of Chief Contents of the Three Main Documents.

Introductory Note. (*a*) Only complete sections are shown; where independent accounts have been pieced together to form a continuous narrative they are given under a single heading, which is printed across the columns belonging to the documents from which these accounts are taken, e. g. 'Flood.'

(*b*) Where different documents give separate complete accounts the title is printed separately in each column, e. g. 'Creation.'

(*c*) Fragments of documents embedded in sections from other documents, and small additions, are not always shown in this table.

(*d*) In some cases sections are transposed or repeated for the sake of comparison, and the transposition is explained in footnotes.

(*e*) For further details of analysis see Table B.

I. The Origins of the World and the Nations.

P (*Priestly Document.*)	J (*Primitive Document.*)	E (*Elohistic Document.*)
i. 1—ii. 4*a*. Creation.	ii. 4*b*–25. Creation. iii. The Fall. iv. 1–15. Cain and Abel.	
v. 1–8. Genealogy, Adam to Enoch.	iv. [16[1]–24] 25, 26. Genealogy, Adam to Enoch (Worship of Yahweh).	
v. 9–27. Genealogy, Cainan to Lamech.	iv. 16–18[1]. Genealogy, Cain to Lamech.	
v. 28–31. Family of Lamech (Noah, &c.). v. 32. Sons of Noah.	iv. 18–24[1]. Family of Lamech (Jabal, &c.). vi. 1–4. Sons of God and daughters of men.	
vi. 5—viii. Flood.		
ix. 1–17. Covenant and Rainbow.	ix. 18–27. Curse of Canaan.	
ix. 28—x. Origin of the Nations.		
xi. 10–26. Genealogy, Shem to Terah and his sons.	xi. 1–9. Tower of Babel.	

[1] Transposition.

II. Abraham.

P	J	E
xi. 27, 31 f., xii. 4*b*, 5. Migration to Canaan.	xi. 28–30, xii. 1–3, 6–9. Migration to Canaan.	
	xii. 10–20. Abram in Egypt.	
xiii. 6, 11*b*. Separation of Abram and Lot.	xiii. 1–5, 7–11*a*, 12–18. Separation of Abram and Lot.	

(Unknown Source)

xiv. Abram rescues Lot from Amraphel, and meets Melchizedek.

	xv. Yahweh promises Abram an heir, and Canaan to his seed.	
xvi. Birth of Ishmael.		
xvii. Institution of Circumcision.		
	xviii. 1–15. Promise of birth of Isaac.	
	xviii. 16–33. Announcement of doom of Sodom and Gomorrah. Abram intercedes for Sodom.	
	xix. 1–11. The angels sojourn with Lot, and are threatened by the men of Sodom.	
xix. 29. Overthrow of the cities of the Plain. Rescue of Lot.	xix. 12–25. Overthrow of the cities of the Plain. Rescue of Lot.	
	xix. 26. Lot's wife a pillar of salt.	
	xix. 27, 28. Abraham surveys the ruin.	
	xix. 30–38. Birth of Ammon and Moab.	

II. Abraham (*cont.*).

P	J	E
		xx. Abraham at Gerar.
xxi. 1–7. Birth of Isaac.		
		xxi. 8–21. Hagar and Ishmael sent away.
	xxi. 22–34. Covenant between Abraham and Abimelech at Beer-sheba.	
		xxii. 1–13, 19 (14–18 = R) Offering up of Isaac.
	xxii. 20–24. Abraham's kinsfolk.	
xxiii. Death and burial of Sarah.		
	xxiv. Eliezer obtains Rebekah as a wife for Isaac.	
	xxv. 1–6. Abraham's family by Keturah.	
xxv. 7–11*a*. Death and burial of Abraham.		

III. Isaac.

xxv. 12–17. The descendants of Ishmael. His death.	xxv. 11*b*. Isaac at Beer-lahai-roi. 18. Territory of Ishmael.	
xxv. 19, 20. Marriage of Isaac.		
xxv. 26*b*. Age of Isaac.	xxv. 21–26*a*, 27–34. Birth of Esau and Jacob. Sale of birthright.	

P	J	E
	xxvi. 1–33[1]. Isaac at Gerar; strife and covenant with Abimelech.	
xxvi. 34, 35. Esau's wives.		
xxvii. 46. Plan for Jacob's marriage.	xxvii. 1–45. Jacob and Rebekah defraud Esau of his father's blessing. Jacob's flight.	

IV. Jacob.

xxviii. 1–9. Jacob sent to Paddan-aram to marry a kinswoman. Esau takes another wife, an Ishmaelite.	xxviii. 10–22. Jacob at Beth-el.	
xxix. 24, 28*b*, 29. xxx. 4*a*, 21, 22*a*. Jacob at Paddan-aram.	xxix, xxx (rest of). Jacob at Haran. Birth of eleven Patriarchs [and Dinah], from Leah and Zilpah, Rachel and Bilhah. Jacob outwits Laban as to his wages.	
xxxi. 18*b*. Jacob leaves Paddan-aram to return to Isaac.	xxxi. 1–18*a*, 19—xxxii. 2. Jacob flees from Haran, Laban overtakes him in Gilead; they make a covenant; Jacob continues his journey, and meets angels at Mahanaim.	
	xxxii. 3—xxxiii. 17. Jacob's wrestling, and his new name Israel; his reconciliation with Esau.	
	xxxiii. 18–20[a]. Jacob comes to Shechem, buys land, and builds an altar.	
	xxxiv[1]. Dinah is seduced at Shechem; Simeon and Levi avenge her.	
xxxv. 6, 9–13, 15. Jacob comes to Luz. God blesses him,		xxxv. 1–5, 7, 8, 14. Jacob goes to Beth-

[1] In part.

JACOB (*cont.*).

P	J	E
and changes his name to Israel. Jacob names the place Beth-el.		el and fulfils his vow. Death of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse.
xxxv. 22*b*–29. Jacob's twelve sons. He comes to Isaac at Hebron; Isaac dies, and his sons bury him.	xxxv. 16–22*a*. Benjamin is born; Rachel dies; Reuben's sin.	
xxxvi. 1–30, 40–43. Descendants of Esau.	xxxvi. 31–39. Kings of Edom.	
xxxvii. 1. Jacob in Canaan.		

V. JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

xxxvii. 2*a*. Heading. Joseph seventeen.	xxxvii. Joseph, Jacob's favourite son, is envied by his brethren, and sold for a slave into Egypt.	
	xxxviii. The story of Tamar and Judah and his sons.	
	xxxix. Joseph and his master's[1] wife; Joseph in prison.	xl. Joseph interprets the dreams of two prisoners in his master's custody.
xli. 46. Joseph at the age of thirty becomes vizier of Egypt.		xli. 1–32. Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream; and
	xli. 33–57. is made vizier of Egypt,	

[1] The reference to Potiphar is due to an editor.

P	J	E
	provides corn for the famine, marries an Egyptian wife, and has two sons.	
	xlii. The brethren's first journey to Egypt and meeting with Joseph.	
	xliii. The brethren's second journey to Egypt and meeting with Joseph.	
	xliv. A cup is hidden in Benjamin's sack; he is charged with stealing it, and Joseph proposes to keep him as a slave. Judah intercedes.	
	xlv. Joseph makes himself known, and sends for Jacob.	
xlvi. 6, 7. Jacob and his family go down to Egypt.	xlvi. 1–5. Israel (Jacob) goes to Egypt.	Jacob sacrificesat Beersheba.
xlvi. 8–27. The grandsons of Jacob.		
xlvii. 5, 6*a*, 7–11. Jacob comes to Joseph; he is 130; he blesses Pharaoh. Jacob and his family settle in the land of Rameses.	xlvi. 28—xlvii. 4, 6*b*, 12. Joseph meets Israel, introduces his brethren to Pharaoh. They settle in Goshen.	
xlvii. 27*b*, 28. Jacob's family prosper. He reaches the age of 147.	xlvii. 12–27*a*, 29–31. Joseph sells corn to the Egyptians, and makes a new settlement of the land. He promises to bury Israel in Canaan.	
xlviii. 3–6. Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh.	xlviii. 1, 2, 7–22. Israel-Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and bestows his chief blessing on Ephraim, the younger son.	

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN (*cont.*).

P	J	E
xlix. 28–33*a*, *c*. He charges his sons to bury him at Machpelah and dies.	xlix. 1–27, 33*b*. Israel-Jacob blesses his twelve sons and dies.	
l. 12, 13. His sons bury him at Machpelah. [22*b*, 26*a*. Joseph dies, aged 110 years. ? = E.]	l. 1–11, 14. Joseph buries Israel in Canaan at (?) Abelmizraim.	l. 15–26. Joseph promises to continue his kindness to his brethren. He sees his great-grandchildren. He makes the Israelites swear to take his bones to Canaan. He dies.

D. Books Recommended as useful to English Readers.

I. Bible Dictionaries.

Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* *. 4 vols. (T. & T. Clark.)

Encyclopaedia Biblica *, Dr. Cheyne and Dr. J. S. Black. (A. & C. Black.) The simpler and easier articles and portions of articles.

II. Introduction.

The Hexateuch *, edited by J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby. 2 vols. (Longmans.)

The first volume gives the best English exposition of the arguments for the modern theory of the Pentateuch, the theory followed in this work. The second volume gives the R.V. of the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Joshua), arranged in parallel columns to show the analysis into the original documents.

The sections on the Pentateuch and *Genesis* in

Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Driver. (T. & T. Clark.)

A Biblical Introduction, Bennett and Adeney. (Methuen.)

Primer of the Bible, Bennett. (Methuen.)

III. Commentaries on Genesis.

Delitzsch, Eng. Tr. (T. & T. Clark.)

* Dillmann, Eng. Tr. (T. & T. Clark.)

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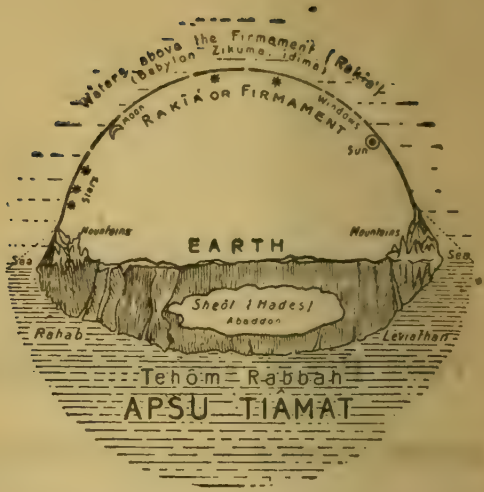
* The author wishes to acknowledge his special obligation in addition to others referred to in the notes, to the works marked with an asterisk *, and also to the following :—

The commentaries on *Genesis* by Gunkel, Holzinger, and Spurrell; C. J. Ball's edition of the text of *Genesis* (Dr. Paul Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*); and for information as to the cuneiform inscriptions and other matters connected with Assyriology, in addition to the relevant sections of the above works, to Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Jensen's *Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen*, and J. D. Davis's *Genesis and Semitic Tradition* (Nutt).

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

REVISED VERSION WITH ANNOTATIONS



Gen. i. 6.—Diagram of Primitive Semite (Babylonian or Hebrew) Conception of the Universe.

This illustration is taken from the article Cosmogony by Rev. Principal Whitehouse, D.D., in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; and our thanks are due to Dr. Whitehouse, and to the publishers, Messrs. T. & T. Clark, for permission to use the block. In this article Dr. Whitehouse writes: 'The writer of this article sketched this outline from a study of numerous Old Testament passages about twelve years ago, and found in Jensen's *Cosmologie der Bab.*, published in 1890, a diagram almost identical in character, descriptive of the universe according to Babylonian conceptions, and based purely upon the data of the cuneiform inscriptions'—a remarkable testimony to the correspondence of Babylonian and Hebrew ideas on this subject.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS

THE PRIESTLY (P) NARRATIVE OF THE CREATION[1].

i. 1, 2. The Primaeval Chaos.

i. 3–5. *The First Day.* The creation of Light; the institution of Day and Night.

i. 6–8. *The Second Day.* The creation of the 'firmament,' dividing the upper and the lower waters.

i. 9–13. *The Third Day.* The formation of earth and seas; the earth produces vegetation.

i. 14–19. *The Fourth Day.* The creation of sun, moon, and stars.

i. 20–23. *The Fifth Day.* The creation of the living creatures that inhabit the waters, and of the flying creatures.

i. 24–31. *The Sixth Day.* The creation of the living creatures that live on dry land; the creation of mankind.

ii. 1–4[a]. *The Seventh Day.* God rests; the institution of the Sabbath.

(*a*) *Form of the Narrative.* As in the case of many of the priestly narratives[2], each paragraph of this section is arranged according to a set formula, with the necessary variations. The main features are as follows:—

'And God said, Let there be . . . and it was so . . . and saw that it was good. And there was evening and there was morning, a . . . day.'

(*b*) *The Babylonian Narrative of the Creation.* It had long been known that cosmogonies, or accounts of the Creation, having much in common with the opening chapters of Genesis, were once current among the Babylonian and other Semitic peoples. Until recently, however, these accounts were chiefly known from fragments of ancient writers quoted by the Church historian Eusebius[3]. A Babylonian cosmogony is given by Berosus, a

[1] See p. 34. [2] Cf. p. 34.
[3] Early in the fourth century A. D.

contemporary of Alexander the Great, and a priest of Bel in Babylon about B. C. 280–300.

Berosus states that in the beginning there was a dark chaos of waters, peopled by strange monsters, and ruled by a woman Thamte. Bel cleft her in twain; made one half of her earth, and the other heaven; and destroyed the monsters. Then, to people the empty world, Bel bade one of the gods cut off his (Bel's) head, mix the blood with the soil, and thus fashion men and animals. Afterwards—apparently in no way incommoded by this operation—Bel formed the heavenly bodies[1].

Eusebius also gives fragments of a Phoenician cosmogony taken from the works of Philo of Byblus in Phoenicia, who lived in the time of Nero and his successors. Philo professes to translate an ancient Phoenician history by Sanchoniathon, a possibly mythical personage, supposed to have lived at a remote antiquity, perhaps in the time of the Judges.

As far as can be gathered from the obscure fragments extant, this cosmogony begins with Chaos and Spirit; the appearance of Desire led to the formation of *Mot*, the Abyss of Waters. An egg was formed; heavenly bodies, sun, moon, &c., appeared; and then animal life was produced on the earth.

An account of the Babylonian cosmogony is also quoted from the Neo-Platonist philosopher Damascius[2]. This is in the form of a genealogy of gods, mostly in pairs, and these are interpreted as personifications of the different parts of the universe at its successive stages. The first pair are Apason the father, and Tanthe the mother of the gods; and the genealogy concludes with Belos, the creator of the world as it now is.

But these late, obscure, and imperfect accounts can now be corrected and supplemented by Babylonian documents written nearly six hundred years before Christ; and it is maintained that the cosmogony found in these documents can be traced, at any rate in its main features, as early as B. C. 3000.

In 1875, the late Mr. George Smith discovered, among the ruins of the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, portions of a series of tablets containing in cuneiform character the Assyrian or Babylonian account of the Creation. Other portions have been discovered since, but we do not even now possess the complete series.

This cosmogony may be summarized thus:—

It begins with a primaeval chaos ruled over by Apsu, the ocean, the father, and Tiamat, the abyss, the mother. Apsu is the Apason of Damascius; and Tiamat is the Tanthe of Damascius

[1] Probably, if we had the original text of Berosus, we should find either that Eusebius has misquoted him, or that there is some explanation of these remarkable proceedings.

[2] About A. D. 529.

and the Thamte of Berosus. Then the various gods appeared; the parallel accounts we have referred to, together with some expressions in the cuneiform documents, suggest that they were born of Apsu and Tiamat. The succeeding portion of the tablets is lost, and we next meet with a long account of a struggle between the upper deities on the one hand, and Tiamat and the lower deities on the other. Marduk or Merodach, the great Babylonian deity also known as Bel, stands forth as champion of the upper deities; slays Tiamat and divides her body into two parts. Of one half he made a covering for the heavens, to prevent the upper waters from breaking loose. He placed the heavens opposite the seas. Then he appointed places for the great gods, and arranged the stars to measure months and years[1]. The series of tablets concludes with a hymn in honour of Marduk, which describes him as 'bringing the dead to life . . . creating mankind . . . punishing evil-doers . . . working righteousness.'

Another fragment of a tablet usually regarded as belonging to this series, though its position in the series is not certain, speaks of Marduk creating 'cattle, wild beasts, and creeping things.'

The number of the tablets is uncertain; it has been estimated at either six or seven.

There is another Babylonian account of the Creation which will be referred to in connexion with chapter ii.

Comparison shows that this Babylonian narrative, and the cosmogonies of Berosus, Philo Byblius, and Damascius are versions of the same original, and that the latter writers may be used, with caution, to supply gaps in the series of cuneiform tablets. It is also clear that Gen. i. 1—ii. 4a is yet another parallel version. Details will be mentioned in the following notes, but we may call attention here to the general resemblances and differences. In both we have the primaeval chaos; a sentence in Berosus seems to imply that light existed before Marduk formed the heavenly bodies. In both there is the division between heaven and earth, and the half of the body of Tiamat seems to correspond to the 'firmament' in Genesis. In both the movements of the heavenly bodies mark off periods of time. Berosus, too, speaks of men as 'partaking of Divine thought,' which may perhaps correspond to the making of men 'in the image of God.' Other parallelisms which have been drawn are doubtful.

The differences are no less striking, and need not be fully enumerated. The use of recurring formulae, and the methodical division into days, each with its separate creative act or acts, are absent from the tablets. The Babylonian order of the making of

[1] The tablets are imperfect at this point, and the connexion between the gods and the stars is not clear, but there is no doubt that the latter are spoken of as measurers of time.

things is not yet clearly ascertained; but apparently it differed from that in Genesis, as the heavenly bodies are spoken of before the dry land. But the one important difference is that the Babylonian account revels in myths concerning the doings of multitudinous gods, demons, and monsters, while Genesis gives us an almost scientific[1] account of creation by one God; the mythical features have been carefully removed, and can only be traced in a few phrases. There is another curious difference: the Babylonian account contains certain moral features, the description of the *character* of Marduk; and, perhaps, certain moral admonitions addressed to the newly created man[2]. These features are absent from the Biblical cosmogony; the moral nature of God is not expressly described, and the admonitions to mankind are not concerned with morality. We trust it will not seem paradoxical to say that the narrative gains by this omission; the brief story is the more impressive because it is confined to its one great subject of creation; the writer knew that he would have ample opportunity to deal with ethics later on. Nevertheless his interest in the minutiae of ritual[3] makes itself felt even here; a paragraph[4] is devoted to the directions as to food, and creation finds its climax in the institution of the Sabbath[5].

(*c*) *The relation of the Babylonian and the Scriptural cosmogonies.* The comparison of the cuneiform tablets with the opening section of Genesis shows that these documents cannot be wholly independent; there must be some literary connexion between them. The great antiquity of the story told by the tablets, and the comparatively recent date of the work from which Gen. i. is taken[6], show that the Babylonian mythologists cannot have borrowed from Genesis. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that a myth in which the gods are evolved from Chaos would be elaborated out of an account of the Creation in which God appears as pre-existent and creating all things. The object of the Babylonian epic is to do honour to the great god of Babylon; and if its authors had had Genesis before them, they would have been eager to ascribe to Merodach the unique majesty which Genesis assigns to God.

It is, however, often held that Gen. i. 1—ii. 4[a] is an edition of the cosmogony of the tablets, purged of its polytheistic myths. The Priestly Document was composed in Babylon after the Fall of Jerusalem; and its authors might easily have studied some such tablets as those which have been discovered in the library of

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[1] According to the knowledge of the times.

[2] See article CREATION, § 6 note (Cheyne), in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

[3] See p. 36. [4] Gen. i. 29, 30. [5] Gen. ii. 1–3.

[6] See p. 35.

Ashurbanipal; or they might have heard some version of the ancient myths from their Babylonian neighbours.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the two cosmogonies are independent developments from an ancient myth which was current amongst the common Semitic ancestors of the Israelites and the Babylonians.

Probably the truth lies between these two views. The latter seems excluded by the close resemblances of the two narratives; the former by the intimate connexion between Israel, Assyria, and Babylon [1] in many periods long before the Exile. Even before B.C. 2000 the influence of Babylonian civilization seems to have extended over Western Asia, including Syria and Palestine. Perhaps the most convincing testimony to this fact is found in the Amarna tablets. These are a collection of Egyptian archives recently discovered at Tel-el-Amarna in the Nile Valley. They consist of dispatches from the Egyptian officials and subject-princes in Palestine and Phoenicia, and from the kings of Babylon and other rulers of Western Asia to the Pharaohs, Amenophis III and IV, *c.* B.C. 1414–1365. These dispatches are, for the most part, in Babylonian cuneiform; and are written on tablets of baked clay, after the fashion of Babylonian documents. Babylonian, therefore, was the language of diplomacy, the *lingua franca* of Western Asia. Again, at a later time, the states in the Valley of the Euphrates regained their supremacy over Palestine; from the time of Jehu till the Captivity the Israelite kingdoms paid tribute to Nineveh or Babylon. One can hardly believe that the Babylonian epic of the Creation was unknown to the Israelites till after the Fall of Jerusalem; it is more probable that it was current in Canaan from a very early time, and had become part of the folklore of the country, and ultimately of Israel. It would be modified by the development of religious ideas amongst the Israelites; and Gen. i. 1—ii. 4a represents the form it received during the Exile from the authors of the Priestly Document.

There is, moreover, direct evidence in the O.T. that the Israelites were acquainted with the Babylonian Creation epic. It has been pointed out [2] that several writers use the imagery of the contest of Merodach, the God of Light, with Tiamat, the monstrous Queen of Darkness and Chaos, to describe the warfare of God against evil. Thus Yahweh 'cut Rahab in pieces,' and 'pierced the dragon [3]'; in the last day He will 'punish leviathan and slay the dragon that is in the sea [4]'; He has 'broken the heads of the dragons in the

[1] Assyria and Babylon were so closely connected in language and religion, that for the purpose of our present discussion they were virtually one.

[2] Especially by Gunkel in his *Schöpfung und Chaos*.

[3] Isa. li. 9. [4] Isa. xxvii. 1.

waters,' and 'broken the heads of leviathan in pieces[1].' Many similar passages might be quoted.

(*d*) *Egyptian Doctrines of Creation.* According to the Book of the Dead, Tum, the sun-god of Heliopolis, was the creator, and it is said of him that he is 'the creator of the heavens, the maker of all existences, who has begotten all that there is, who gave birth to the gods, who created himself, the lord of life who bestows upon the gods the strength of youth[2].' In the hymns in honour of another sun-god, Aten-Ra, composed in the reign of the royal reformer Khu-en-Aten, *c.* B.C. 1400, it is said of Aten-Ra, 'beside whom there is no other,' that he created all things, 'far-off heavens, mankind, the animals, the birds'; it is he 'who brings in the years, creates the months, makes the days, reckons the hours'; and it seems as if Khu-en-Aten meant that 'the idea that he was one God, the God living in truth,' was to be an article of real faith, and no longer merely a phrase[3]. Such views, however, existed side by side, and were sometimes professed concurrently with crude polytheistic myths on the same subject, e. g. that the universe was born out of the egg laid by the goose sacred to the god Seb[4]; a view which would have commended itself to Carlyle.

(*e*) *The Relation to Modern Science.* It was formerly the custom, in discussing the opening chapters of Genesis, to compare their statements with the results of scientific research. One writer would assert that the views of 'science falsely so-called' must be rejected because they did not square with Scripture; another would be equally certain that the Bible and science could not be reconciled, but would maintain that the preference must be given to science; while a third would perform miracles of exegesis in order to show that the language of Genesis was consistent with modern astronomy and geology. Now, however, the progress of Christian thought relieves us from the necessity of any such discussion. Most theologians recognize that Revelation did not intend to communicate information as to science. In such matters the inspired authors were allowed to write according to their education and the knowledge of their times, just as they were in matters of grammar and literary taste. The Holy Spirit no more corrected their science than their spelling. Hence, as the Bible does not claim to be inspired as to geology or astronomy, its authority in no way depends on the accuracy of its statements on these subjects[5]. The first narrative of the Creation, for

[1] Ps. lxxiv. 14.
[2] Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 83.
[3] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr. &c., p. 262.
[4] Sayce, *Religions*, &c., p. 129.
[5] The above is not to be taken as an exact and exhaustive

[P] In the beginning God created the heaven and the 1

instance, teaches us the relation of the Universe and Man to God; the exact sequence of physical phenomena is no part of its religious teaching; this latter is the mere form of the narrative, with which inspiration was not concerned[1].

For the initials in the text in square brackets and at the tops of the pages see Table p. 52.

1. It is generally considered that this section originally began with ii. 4^a, 'These are the generations . . . created,' as a heading; cf. the notes on that verse.

In the beginning. No article is expressed in the Hebrew, but it is probably implied by the construction. This exordium is imitated in John i. 1, 2, and 1 John i. 1, and the article is not expressed in either of these passages.

In the beginning God[2] created. The E. V. rendering constitutes the first verse a summary of the whole account; it tells us that God created heaven and earth, and the following verses describe in detail how they were created. But a more probable rendering is 'In the beginning when God created . . . and when the earth was waste . . . God said, Let there be light . . .,' i. e. the beginning of God's creating the ordered heaven and earth from the primaeval chaos was the Divine utterance, 'Let there be light.'

created. The Hebrew word[3] is a late and comparatively rare word; it is chiefly if not entirely found in exilic and post-exilic writings[4], and is one of the characteristic words of the Priestly Document. It is a special term of the Divine making of what is new and wonderful, but does not in itself necessarily express creation out of nothing. According to the more probable view of this passage, the Creation started, not from nothing, but from the primaeval chaos; the author did not trouble himself as to the origin of this chaos. This view was still taken by the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*[5], who speaks of Wisdom creating the world 'out of formless matter.' But 2 *Maccabees*[6] speaks of God creating heaven and earth 'not of things that were'; and

statement of technical dogmatics, but as a popular, practical application of a view that is widely held.

[1] For a comparison of the two accounts of the Creation, see on Gen. ii. 4^b–25.

[2] For 'God' see on ii. 4, p. 22.

[3] *Bārā'*.

[4] The Priestly Document (P), 2 Isaiah, Ezekiel, post-exilic Psalms, &c. It is also found in some passages that may be pre-exilic.

[5] About B.C. 100; xi. 17, E.V.

[6] About B.C. 125–A.D. 70; vii. 28.

2 earth. And the earth was waste and void; and darkness
was upon the face of the deep: and the spirit of God
3 moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let

similarly the *Epistle to the Hebrews* says of the Creation [1], 'What is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear.'

2. waste and void: Heb. *Tohu wabhohu*, a compound expression, fairly represented by our 'chaos,' or by the 'formless matter' of *Wisdom*. The phrase only occurs elsewhere in Isa. xxxiv. 11, in the description of the ruin of Edom, 'he shall stretch over it the line of confusion (*tohu*), and the plummet of emptiness (*bohu*),' and in Jer. iv. 23, 'I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was waste and void; and the heavens, and they had no light.' A Phoenician cosmogony [2] begins with the Wind [3] and his wife *Baau*, who is generally regarded as corresponding to the *Bohu* of our passage.

the deep: Heb. *Tehom*, the primaeval abyss, which the Semitic cosmogonies personify as *Tiamat*, or *Tanthe*, or *Thamte*, the arch-enemy of the heavenly gods.

the spirit of God. According to another cosmogony of Philo Byblius the first beings were Spirit (*Pneuma*) and Chaos. 'Spirit' is literally 'wind'; cf. above.

moved upon: R. V. marg., 'was brooding upon.' The Hebrew word [4] only occurs twice elsewhere, Deut. xxxii. 11, of an eagle 'that fluttereth over her young,' and Jer. xxiii. 9, 'my bones shake [5].' The root is found in Aramaic, sometimes of a bird hatching an egg. Perhaps the phraseology here retains a reminiscence of the form of the cosmogony in which heaven and earth were produced from the world-egg.

For this primaeval chaos consisting of an abyss of waters lying in darkness, cf. in the opening of the Babylonian epic:—

'When heaven was not named above,
And earth below had made itself no name,
Apsu (the ocean), the primaeval, that begat them,
And *mu-um-mu* [6] Tiamat, that bare them,
Mixed their waters together.
. . . . . .
Not one of the gods had yet arisen.'

And in Berosus: 'Primarily all consisted of darkness and

[1] xi. 3. [2] Quoted by Eusebius from Philo Byblius.
[3] Anernos. [4] *Merahepheth*.
[5] The word in Jeremiah is sometimes treated as a different root of the same form.
[6] A word of uncertain meaning, perhaps synonymous with 'primaeval.'

there be light: and there was light. And God saw the 4
light, that it was good: and God divided the light from
the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the 5

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water, and strange creatures of peculiar form arose therein. . . . Over them reigned a woman . . . Thamte.'

3. And God said. The cuneiform speaks of the 'word' of Merodach; no god can alter that which he ordains.

light. Merodach or Marduk, the creator, according to the Babylonians, of heaven and earth, was a solar deity; and his appearance is often interpreted as the appearance of light at the beginning of creation.

Light is thought of here as a thing in itself, independent of the heavenly luminaries. Cf. Job xxxviii. 19, 20:—

> 'Where is the way to the dwelling of light,
> And as for darkness, where is the place thereof;
> That thou shouldest take it to the bound thereof,
> And that thou shouldest discern the paths to the house thereof?'

So, according to the Gnostics[1], Light was an emanation from the Aeon Sophia or Wisdom. Cf. also with the antithesis of light and darkness, the Zoroastrian Ormuzd and Ahriman, the deities or principles of light and darkness.

and there was light. The word, the command of God suffices. Thus the idea of light as one of a series of emanations from the primaeval Being or from matter is excluded, together with the mythical machinery of the polytheistic cosmogonies. Cf. below on verse 4.

4. good: useful, suitable for the work for which it was designed; the 'it' (not in the Heb.) refers to the whole result of each creative act.

divided the light from the darkness. The work of creation is largely thought of as the unravelling and setting in due order of what was entangled or confused in the primaeval chaos; the light is separated from the darkness, the upper from the lower waters (verse 6), the waters from the dry land (verse 9), the day from the night (verse 14). This is the view of the original narrative; the idea in verse 5 of light as new, springing into existence at the word of God, is a modification introduced by the inspired writer, who has not, however, cared to correct the older phraseology throughout.

5. God called the light Day, &c. This statement need not be explained away as meaning 'called into existence,' or

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[1] Irenaeus I. i. 7.

darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, one day.

6 And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the
7 waters. And God made the firmament, and divided

'appointed'; but should be taken in its natural sense, God gave to the period of light the name Day, &c. The 'name' was not thought of as something trivial and accidental, but as bound up with the nature and being of the thing named; hence the great importance attached to the 'name' of God; cf. such phrases as 'for Thy name's sake.'

evening . . . morning. The author follows the arrangement in use amongst the Jews in his time, by which the day was reckoned from sunset to sunset. Possibly the primaeval darkness is thought of as the first evening.

one day, not first day, as the second, third, &c. of the following paragraphs; perhaps because the author wishes to emphasize the fact that evening and morning made *a* day; or 'one day' may be just an equivalent for the 'first day.' In Gen. viii. 5, a portion of the same document, P, 'first of the month' is literally 'one of the month.'

day: often explained in this chapter as a figurative expression for a long period (cf. 2 Pet. iii. 8, 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years,' and Ps. xc. 4), but the whole passage shows that the author thought of ordinary days.

6. firmament: R. V. marg. 'expanse,' Heb. *raqia*. Firmament is from the Vulgate *firmamentum*, which is an exact etymological equivalent of the Septuagint *stereōma*. The root is used in Hebrew and Aramaic in the sense of 'make firm'; also specializing in Hebrew into the senses of 'beat, stamp, beat out (metal) into plates.' This 'firmament' is a solid dome upholding the upper waters. Cf. the 'paved work of sapphire stone' which Moses saw under the feet of the God of Israel[1]; and the 'firmament' which Ezekiel saw supporting the throne of God[2], and the 'vault' which God 'hath founded upon the earth[3].' Heaven is also said to have 'pillars[4]'; and we read :—

> 'Canst thou with him spread out the sky,
> Which is strong as a molten mirror[5]?'

The idea of the heavens as solid or metallic is also found in classical writers.

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[1] Exod. xxiv. 10. [2] Ezek. i. 26. [3] Amos ix. 6, R.V.
[4] Job xxvi. 11. [5] Job xxxvii. 18.

the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven. And there was 8 evening and there was morning, a second day.

And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be 9 gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land

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7. God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament. Cf. in the Babylonian epic :—

> 'He (Merodach) divided it (the corpse of Tiamat) . . . in two;
> Made one half of it a covering for heaven;
> Inserted a bolt, and placed a watchman,
> And bade him not to allow its waters to escape.
> He traversed the heavens, . . .
> And placed it opposite the Ocean (Apsu).'

In Ps. cxlviii. 4 we again meet with the 'waters that be above the heavens.' So, too, in the Egyptian mythology, there is a 'river of heaven' over which Ra, the sun-god, voyages in his boat; and the upper or heavenly waters are also found in other mythologies.

According to the LXX and the analogy of the other paragraphs, the clause 'and it was so' should be transferred from the end of verse 7 to the end of verse 6. The statement that the Divine command was fulfilled follows immediately on the Divine utterance; cf. on verse 20.

Note the absence of the usual clause 'and God saw that it was good.' No satisfactory reason has been given for the omission. The LXX contains the clause in verse 8, after 'called the firmament heaven.' Perhaps this was the original reading, and the words were accidentally omitted.

9. one place. The LXX has 'one gathering,' and also after 'and it was so' adds 'and the water under the heaven was gathered into their gatherings, and the dry land appeared.' These readings are accepted by many scholars. In the other paragraphs the words 'and it was so' are followed by some further statement as to what happened.

In Jer. v. 22 Yahweh places 'the sand for the bound of the sea'; and in Job xxxviii. 8, 10, He shuts up 'the sea with doors.'

The appearing of the dry land suggests to us either the receding of the waters or the uprising of the land, but the analogy of the earlier verses seems to show that earth and water formed one confused mass, which were separated by the Divine word.

10 appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land
Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called
11 he Seas: and God saw that it was good. And God said,
Let the earth put forth grass, herb yielding seed, *and*
fruit tree bearing fruit after its kind, wherein is the seed
12 thereof, upon the earth: and it was so. And the earth
brought forth grass, herb yielding seed after its kind,
and tree bearing fruit, wherein is the seed thereof, after
13 its kind: and God saw that it was good. And there
was evening and there was morning, a third day.
14 And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of
the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let

11. Let the earth put forth grass, &c. There are two distinct creative acts on the third day, the formation of sea and land, and the production of vegetation. This arrangement is necessitated by the author's scheme of seven days, the last of which is a day of rest.

With the exception of one doubtful clause, the origin of vegetation is not given in the extant portions of the Creation epic most closely akin to Gen. i. 1—ii. 4[a]; but is found in the alternative Babylonian account described in connexion with Gen. ii, see especially on ii. 8, 9.

grass: Heb. *deshe'*, here used as a general term for vegetation, including herbage and trees; perhaps because the trees are thought of as first appearing as tender, green shoots.

herb yielding seed. Grain-producing corn, &c., for food, as well as for seed of new plants.

After 'seed' the LXX adds 'after its kind.' Cf. below.

after its kind. The LXX places these words after 'seed thereof.' The meaning of this phrase is that God created all the various kinds of grass, trees, and of the living creatures which inhabit the air and the waters (verse 21) and the earth (verse 24).

wherein is the seed thereof, should immediately follow 'fruit,' as in the LXX. Cf. above.

i. 14. On the first three days, heaven, earth, and seas are made ready for their inhabitants; in the second three days the inhabitants of these several regions are created[1].

14. lights: luminaries, Heb. *me'oroth*.

to divide the day from the night. The light has already

[1] So Holzinger *in loco*.

them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and
years: and let them be for lights in the firmament of the 15
heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.
And God made the two great lights; the greater light to 16
rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: *he*
made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament 17
of the heaven to give light upon the earth, and to rule 18
over the day and over the night, and to divide the light
from the darkness: and God saw that it was good.

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been divided from the darkness, and there has been the alternation of evening and morning; but the day and night are now more clearly marked off from one another by the appearance of the sun by day and the moon and the stars by night.

14, 15. let them be for signs, &c. The heavenly bodies are not thought of, as they were by the Babylonians and others, sometimes even by Israelites, as deities or the abodes of deities; but simply as (*a*) having astronomical and possibly astrological uses, fixing the calendar and enabling men to measure the lapse of time; and (*b*) as heavenly lamps, giving light by day and night.

14. the heaven: here the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch insert 'to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and the night.'

signs: Heb. *'othoth*, often used of a miraculous sign, e. g. of the transformation of Moses' rod into a serpent[1]; also applied to the rainbow as a sign that God would not again destroy the world by a flood[2]. It might possibly indicate a belief in astrology; but the Israelites do not seem to have been much given to that pseudo-science, and 'star-gazers' are only mentioned to be condemned[3]. Hence 'signs' are better understood as referring to time, weather, &c.

seasons: Heb. *mo'adhim*, fixed times, i. e. festivals, &c.

16. to rule: here figurative; the sun by its light and heat, the moon by its light, are thought of as the governing forces of day and night respectively. The language, however, may be a reminiscence of the worship of sun and moon as divine monarchs, e. g. the Babylonian Shamash and Sin.

the stars also. These words look like an afterthought, especially in the Hebrew, and are perhaps a later addition.

18. to divide the light from the darkness. These words seem superfluous, as this division was made on the first day

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[1] Exod. iv. 8. [2] Gen. ix. 12. [3] Isa. xlvii. 13.

19 And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day.

20 And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and let fowl fly above

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(verse 4). They may be an addition; or the author may refer in verse 4 to the initial separation of light and darkness as ultimate substances, and here to the way in which the division between them is actually shown to men.

14–19. The most relevant lines of the parallel section of the Creation epic are as follows:—

'He (Merodach) prepared stations for the great gods,
As stars like to them he placed the constellations of the Zodiac[1].
He indicated the year . . . .
He instituted twelve months, each with three stars.
. . . . . .
He placed the zenith in the midst of heaven,
He made the moon shine, made the night subject to him,
He appointed him . . .[2] to make known time
Monthly, without failing . . . .[2]
At the beginning of the month . . . .[2]
It shines with horns . . . .[2]
On the seventh day with a half-circle.'

A paragraph follows about the sun, the extant remains of which are too scanty to be deciphered. In the closing tablet we also read that Merodach appoints 'the courses for the stars of heaven.'

20. bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life. R. V. marg., Heb. 'swarm with swarms of living creatures.'

fowl: Heb. *'oph*, by derivation 'flying thing,' here used collectively for flying things in general, including not only birds, but insects, bats, &c. Cf. Lev. xi. 20, where *shere* (swarm of) *ha* (the) *'oph* is used for 'winged . . . things that go upon all four[3],' including four varieties of locusts or grasshoppers.

The coupling in one creative act of the creatures of the sea and air has been variously explained: (*a*) by the necessity of including creation in six days (cf. on verses 9–13); and, also, for the sake of having ten creative acts. (*b*) 'The ranking together of the

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[1] So Gunkel and Jensen, but translation doubtful.

[2] Text or translation doubtful.

[3] So R.V.; A.V., curiously, 'All fowls that creep, going upon all four.'

the earth in the open firmament of heaven. And God 21
created the great sea-monsters, and every living creature

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animals of the water and air is to be explained by the similarity of their elements, viz. fluidity and mobility, and the connected manifold similarity of their organism and their propagation[1].' This is probably partly true; the narrative does not think of living creatures as produced from nothing, but from substance already existing. Naturally the sea-creatures were produced from the sea, and the land-creatures from the land; but the air did not seem substantial enough to produce the air-creatures, and it seemed more reasonable, as the above quotation points out, to derive them from the sea than from the land: but (*c*) the author probably is influenced by some ancient tradition that birds were produced from the water. Perhaps this was connected with the Babylonian myth, preserved by Berosus, which states that the primaeval waters generated monstrous winged creatures.

let fowl fly: A. V., with LXX, 'fowl that may fly.'

heaven. Add after this, with the LXX, and on account of the analogy of the other paragraphs, 'and it was so'; cf. on verse 7.

21. created: used here for the second time (cf. verse 1), at the appearance of conscious life.

sea-monsters: A. V. 'whales,' Heb. *tanninim*, a late word, found chiefly or wholly in exilic or post-exilic literature. *Tannin* is usually derived from a root TNN, 'to stretch,' and even connected with the Greek and Latin root *ten*, which we have in *tension*, &c.; *tannin* is therefore explained as a stretched-out, long, thin thing, like a serpent, &c. In Exod. vii. 9-12 the rods of Aaron and of Pharaoh's magicians are changed to *tanninim*, E. V. 'serpents'; in the parallel passage, Exod. iv. 3, Moses' rod becomes a *nahash*, the ordinary word for 'serpent.' In Isa. xxvii. 1 the *tannin* is coupled with 'leviathan,' and in li. 9 with 'Rahab,' and in Ps. cxlviii. 7 with the 'tehomoth' or abysses. In the last two passages E. V. renders 'dragons.' Probably the author had in mind the aquatic monsters which in Babylonian mythology peopled the primaeval abyss. If so, he suggests a contrast; in the mythology there were monsters existing before Merodach the Creator, and capable of contending with him; but in truth even the huge, mysterious monsters of the abyss are the work of the God of Israel. The term 'sea-monster' is not very apt, as the author was probably thinking more of hippopotami and crocodiles than of sharks and whales. The 'behemoth' in Job xl. 15-24 is the hippopotamus, and the 'leviathan' in Job xli

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[1] Dillmann, *in loco*, Eng. Tr.

that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly,
after their kinds, and every winged fowl after its kind:
22 and God saw that it was good. And God blessed them,
saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in
23 the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. And there
was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.
24 And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living

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the crocodile. There was a well of the *tannin*, E. V. 'dragon,' at Jerusalem in post-exilic times.

every living creature that moveth. Like the corresponding 'moving creature that hath life,' the phrase is used as more general than 'fish,' in order to include every possible variety of creature that inhabited the waters; cf. Ps. viii. 8:—

> 'The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea,
> Whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas.'

'Moveth,' strictly 'creepeth[1]'; perhaps to emphasize the most striking difference between plants and animals, the fact that the latter are not confined to one spot like the former.

abundantly. There is nothing to indicate that only a single pair of each kind was originally produced. It is true that in the Priestly (P) narrative of the flood a pair of each kind is taken into the ark[2], but there is clearly no analogy between the limited space of the ark and the unlimited water and air available at the Creation.

winged fowl: *lit.* 'flying (things) with wings'; cf. Ps. cxlviii. 10, E. V. 'flying fowl,' *lit.* 'birds with wings.' The redundant expression again emphasizes the most striking characteristics of the class.

22. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, &c. The formula now receives an addition, which is repeated for man, and, in a different form, for the sabbath. The direct address in the second person, 'Be fruitful,' &c., calls attention to the fact that animals are conscious beings, capable of receiving, understanding, and obeying the Divine commands. This utterance endows the creatures addressed with the power of reproduction.

multiply, and fill the waters. The author thinks of a certain area being originally provided with fishes, birds, &c., and, later on, beasts, and men, and the rest of the world as being supplied from thence.

20–23. The section of the Creation epic which would doubtless have corresponded to this paragraph has not yet been found.

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[1] Heb. RMS. [2] Gen. vi. 19, 20.

creature after its kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after its kind: and it was so. And 25
God made the beast of the earth after its kind, and the cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the ground after its kind: and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let us make man in our 26

24. cattle: domestic animals.
creeping thing: reptiles.
beast of the earth: wild beasts.
The author thinks of the domestic animals and the beasts of prey as having been created tame and wild respectively.

24, 25. Notice the absence of the blessing given to the creatures of the water and of the air (verse 22), and to men (verse 28). No satisfactory explanation of this omission has been given. It has been suggested that the author was afraid of making his narrative too long, or wished to have just *three* blessings (verses 22, 28, ii. 3). Perhaps an editor or scribe who was cramped for space omitted the blessing here, under the impression that verses 28–30 might do duty for the beasts as well as for men. The LXX of *Joshua* often omits formulae which are frequently repeated.

Here again the Creation epic is defective; but a fragment sometimes supposed to belong to that series speaks of the creation of 'cattle, wild beasts, and reptiles'; and the alternative account speaks of the creation of numerous varieties of land animals; see on ii. 19.

26. Let us make man. Cf. iii. 22, where, after the Fall, 'the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us'; xi. 7, where, after the building of the Tower of Babel, the Lord said, '... Let us go down'; and Isa. vi. 8, where the prophet 'Heard the voice of the Lord, saying, ... Who will go for us?' This 'us' has been very variously interpreted: as referring to the Three Persons of the Trinity; or to the manifold powers, qualities, and attributes of God; or as being the royal 'we.' But the meaning is determined by Isa. vi, where Yahweh is described as surrounded by His heavenly court, the Seraphim, and manifestly addresses them. So here and elsewhere[1] God is thought of as attended by subordinate supernatural beings, or, as we should say, angels. Such passages are so far an anticipation of the doctrine of the Trinity, as they imply a denial of that isolation of the Deity in heaven to which the bare doctrine of the absolute oneness of God inevitably tends. It has been pointed out that to

[1] e. g. Job i, ii.

image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every
27 creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. And God created man in his own image, in the image of God

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write 'Let *us* make man in *our* image' was less startling, and less suggestive of erroneous anthropomorphism, than to say, 'Let *me* make man in *my* image.' Cf. below.

man: Heb. *'adam*; here a common noun, of uncertain derivation, but by similarity of form suggesting the name 'Edom; the word *'adamah*, ground, cf. ii. 7, iii. 19; and the root 'DM, 'red,' as in *'adom*, 'red,' xxv. 30, and in *dam*, 'blood.' 'Man' here, like the singular words for 'flying creatures,' 'cattle,' &c., is collective and equals 'mankind, the human race.'

in our image, after our likeness. No distinction can be drawn here between 'image' and 'likeness'[1]; they are not intended to express two distinct ideas, but are a pair of synonyms setting forth one idea with special emphasis and some variety in language. This likeness is again referred to in verses 1–3. Much discussion has taken place on the question—Wherein did the author understand that this likeness consisted: whether in the outward appearance, e.g. the upright posture; or the dominion over other animals (verse 28); or in the moral and spiritual attributes of God? If the author had taken the very serious trouble of thinking out this problem he would have given us his solution. As it is, he has provided us with a general formula, which we are at liberty to use in the light of the Christian revelation. Probably he reproduces a feature of the ancient tradition. Primitive religion is usually frankly anthropomorphic at certain stages; and the idea that man is 'the image of God' is a commonplace of classical philosophers[2].

have dominion, &c. So also Ps. viii. 6–8:—

'Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands;
Thou hast put all things under his feet:
All sheep and oxen,
Yea, and the beasts of the field;
The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea.'

27. created: used for the third time, and here used three times by way of special emphasis. The formation of man was a more wonderful new departure than the creation of heaven and

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[1] Heb. *çelem* and *demuth*.

[2] See Dillmann, *in loco*.

created he him; male and female created he them.
And God blessed them: and God said unto them, Be 28
fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. And God said, Behold, I have 29
given you every herb yielding seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat:

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earth (verse 1), or the appearance of conscious life (verse 21). The other animals are 'brought forth' by the waters or the earth; but there is no hint of any material from which man is 'brought forth.' In order to enhance the importance of the creative act and the dignity of man, God invites the co-operation of His heavenly ministers in this supreme work.

male and female, thus providing for the continuance of the race by reproduction. The existence of two sexes, though common to man with the lower animals, is first mentioned here. The phrase almost reads like a correction of the earlier statement of ii. 21–23 that the formation of woman was a distinct act. This verse by itself could not be understood as stating that originally only a single pair was created, but as the same Priestly (P) writer in chapter v makes Adam the ancestor of the whole human race he apparently held that only one man was originally created; he probably also took for granted that his readers would understand that only one woman was created, but this latter point could hardly be proved from the actual words of the Priestly narrative.

28. fowl of the air. The LXX adds here, 'and over the cattle, and over all the earth,' as in verse 26.

moveth: R. V. marg., 'creepeth.'

29. I have given you every herb yielding seed, . . . and every tree . . . for meat. 'Meat' in its Elizabethan sense of 'food.' The Priestly Document in its legal sections dwells upon the regulations of the Law as to food; and in the same spirit it thinks of God as giving ordinances on this subject at the Creation. In the first, or antediluvian, dispensation both men and animals are thought of as living on a vegetarian diet, and therefore not taking life, but dwelling in peace together. It is not certain that any distinction is intended between the 'herb yielding seed' given to man and the 'green herb' given to the animals; but perhaps the grains and fruits are given to man and the grasses to the animals. Cf. ix. 1–7.

the fruit of a tree. The LXX omits 'of a tree.'

30 and to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the
air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth,
wherein there is life, *I have given* every green herb for
31 meat: and it was so. And God saw every thing that he
had made, and, behold, it was very good. And there
was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

2 And the heaven and the earth were finished, and all
2 the host of them. And on the seventh day God finished

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30. to every beast . . . I have given **every green herb.** These verses imply universal peace amongst men and animals as having existed in a primaeval golden age. In Isa. xi. 6-9 this is also a feature of the future Messianic Age: 'The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, . . . the lion shall eat straw like the ox. . . . They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain.' Similar pictures are found in classical writers.

No provision is made for the fishes; perhaps the author did not know how they fed, or did not care to overload his narrative by elaborating an unimportant detail. The 'cattle' are perhaps here included with the other beasts.

wherein there is life: R.V. marg., 'a living soul.' The Hebrew for 'life' or 'living soul' is *nephesh hayyah*, used elsewhere in this chapter for 'living creature.' The verse shows that, in the opinion of this writer at any rate, the *nephesh*, constantly translated 'soul,' denotes a principle or faculty common to animals and man, the animal life.

31. God saw every thing, . . . it was very good. There is no special reference to man; he is simply included in this general statement. The result of each creative act was satisfactory in itself, but there was ground for special satisfaction in contemplating the completed work in which each portion was in perfect harmony with the rest.

the sixth day, not merely, '*a* sixth day,' as in the previous paragraphs; the last day of God's working, like the first, is marked as special.

26-31. Here again the corresponding portion of the Creation epic has not been found; but the hymn to Merodach[1] speaks of him as creating mankind.

ii. **1. all the host of them.** 'Host[2] of heaven' is found in the sense of the stars[3]; and here the 'host' stands for the inhabitants, contents, and belongings, so to speak, of heaven and earth.

2. on the seventh day God finished his work. These words

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[1] Cf. p. 69. [2] Heb. *ṣaba'*. [3] Cf. Jer. xxxiii. 22.

his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it: 3 because that in it he rested from all his work which God had created and made.

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are difficult; the context requires that they should mean that God did no work on the seventh day. But this would make the next clause, 'he rested on the seventh day,' mere repetition; moreover it is doubtful whether the Hebrew for 'finished work' can mean 'did no work' or 'left off work,' any more than we could say in English that a candidate, sitting for examinations from Monday to Saturday, finished[1] them on Sunday. Many scholars, however, feel compelled to accept the meaning 'desisted from work,' and try to show that it can be justified from Hebrew usage.

The Samaritan Pentateuch[2], the LXX, and other ancient versions, read 'on the sixth day God finished,' &c., which gives the sense required, but may merely show that translators or scribes felt the difficulty, and altered the text accordingly. On the other hand a careless scribe might easily substitute 'seventh' for 'sixth' by confusion with the 'seventh' a line or two further down.

The Rabbinical commentator Rashi[3] offers us two explanations. The first is that flesh and blood cannot know times and seasons exactly, and must leave off on the same day on which they finish if they wish to be sure of not carrying work on into the next day; but God knows time exactly, and, to put it in modern terms, can work up to the last second of one day, and stop the very beginning of the next. The other explanation is as follows: 'What did the world yet lack (after the six days' work)? Rest. And so God made the world complete by introducing rest.'

It is clear that we must either read, with the LXX, &c., that God finished on the sixth day; or else we must understand our present text to mean that He abstained from work on the seventh day.

3. hallowed it: marked it off from other days as a sacred season to be specially devoted to Himself.

had created and made: more exactly, 'had creatively made,' i. e. made in that peculiarly Divine way of working which is denoted by the word 'create,' and which transcends human powers.

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[1] The Hebrew word, however, may mean to put a stop to anything rather than to put the finishing touches to it.

[2] See p. 42.

[3] A Rabbi who taught in France and Germany; b. A.D. 1040, d. 1105.

4 These are the generations of the heaven and of the

1–3. The usual formulae are omitted from this paragraph, probably to heighten the contrast between the seventh day, the day of rest, and the six working days.

Here we have the institution of the Sabbath, or Day of Rest. Although the name is not actually mentioned, it is referred to in the twice-repeated 'rested,' Heb. *shabath*, from which Sabbath is usually[1] derived. We are not told of any observances enjoined upon man, but, in the Ten Commandments[2], God's rest is given as a reason why man should abstain from work on the seventh day.

There is no corresponding section of the Creation epic, but a similar observance of seventh days is found in the Babylonian calendar. On the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, but also on the nineteenth days of the month the king may not 'eat meat roasted by the fire, or any food prepared by the fire,' nor must he change his clothes, nor offer sacrifices, nor ride in a chariot[3]. It is 'an evil day,' an unlucky day, like our Friday[4].

The word 'Sabbath' may be of Babylonian origin, as similar words are found in that language, though with a somewhat different usage. The noun *sabatum* is a day on which the gods rest from anger and may be propitiated, and the verb *sabatu* means 'to complete,' and not 'to desist from.'

The Sabbath appears in the Primitive Codes[5], especially in the Ten Commandments.

Outside of the Pentateuch the Sabbath first appears as a sacred season in the episode of the Shunammite, whose husband was surprised at her journey to visit 'the man of God' because it was 'neither new moon nor sabbath[6].'

4. These are the generations, &c. This is the formula by which the Priestly Document introduces the ten sections of its history of the Patriarchs; so, for instance, 'These are the generations of Noah.' and similarly for Adam, the sons of Noah, Shem, Terah, Ishmael, Isaac, Esau, and Jacob[7]. The Hebrew

[1] It is sometimes connected with *Sheba'*, seven; and the writer may intend to suggest a connexion with both words, more perhaps by way of noticing a similarity of form and meaning than of asserting an etymological derivation.

[2] Exod. xx. 11.

[3] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*.

[4] Driver, in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, 'SABBATH,' understands this Babylonian institution differently as a day which may be made favourable by observing these abstinences, or evil by neglecting them.

[5] Those included in J and E. [6] 2 Kings iv. 23.

[7] Gen. v. 1, vi. 9, x. 1, xi. 10, 27, xxv. 12, 19, xxxvi. 1, xxxvii. 2.

earth when they were created, [J] in the day that the 4

word[1] is from a root meaning 'to beget, or bear children,' and so comes to mean 'parentage, account of birth or descent, genealogy.' Some of the sections introduced by this formula are genealogies, e.g. the 'generations of Adam' (v), others include narratives, e. g. the 'generations of Noah' (vi. 9), &c., &c.; so that the term almost equals 'family history.' As this formula elsewhere always stands at the head of a section, and as ii. 4[b] ff. belong to another document, it is commonly held that 4[a], 'These are the generations . . . created,' originally stood at the beginning of the Priestly Document, and that they owe their present position to the editor[2] who combined that document with the other sources of the Pentateuch. It may have seemed to him fitting that the words 'In the beginning' should stand at the beginning of the Book of the Law; or he may have felt that 'The generations,' &c., would be a less striking exordium than 'In the beginning God created,' &c. It is also possible that these considerations may have occurred to the Priestly writer, and that he may have marked the uniqueness of this section by using his formula for a conclusion instead of a heading.

The LXX has 'This is the Book of the Genesis,' &c., as in v. 1; and it has been suggested that the editor, before inserting a section from the other document, accidentally copied in the opening words of v. 1, which were afterwards adapted to their present position.

ii. 4[b]–25. The Primitive (J) Narrative of the Creation.

ii. 4[b]–6. The Primaeval Chaos.

ii. 7. A man formed from the soil and the breath of God.

ii. 8–14. Yahweh Elohim ('the Lord God') plants a garden with trees and provides it with rivers.

ii. 15–17. Yahweh Elohim places the man in the garden to tend it; the trees are to furnish him with food; but he must not eat from the Tree of Knowledge under penalty of death.

ii. 18–20. Yahweh Elohim forms the animals out of the soil to provide a companion for the man. The man names them, but fails to find a suitable companion for himself.

ii. 21–25. Accordingly Yahweh Elohim throws the man into a trance, and from one of his ribs constructs a woman, whom the man accepts as his companion. Thus matrimony is instituted. The newly created couple are 'naked, and not ashamed.'

(*a*) *The sources of this narrative.* The main source, as we have indicated, is the older portion or stratum[3] of the Primitive

[1] *Toledoth*, from the root *yalad*. [2] See p. 10.
[3] J[1]. See p. 23.

5 LORD God made earth and heaven. And no plant of the

Jehovistic Document. But the 'Elohim' (God) in the Divine Name 'Yahweh Elohim' (Lord God)[1] was not used in that document, but has been added by the editor, perhaps to indicate that the Yahweh (Lord) of this section is the same as the Elohim (God) of the first chapter. There are other portions of ii. 4b–25 which are considered editorial additions; the more important of these are mentioned in the commentary, but it has not been thought necessary to indicate them in the text.

(*b*) *Relation to* i. 1—ii. 4a. In spite of the obvious differences the two accounts have important features in common. Both show the influence of the ancient tradition by beginning with a scene of waste desolation; and the influence of inspired teaching by the omission of all polytheistic ideas. On the other hand the differences are also important: the Priestly account is cosmic; it deals with earth and heaven and all their hosts, with the dry land, and the firmament, and the waters above and below the firmament; the Primitive account is local, and is only concerned with a garden and its inhabitants, and the streams that water it. In the Priestly account anthropomorphic language is used as little as possible; but in ii. 4b–25 Yahweh is frankly spoken of as a man might be; He moulds a man out of dust, plants a garden, and takes a rib out of the man and builds it up into a woman. So far as the creation of the same beings is concerned the order is different; especially in ch. ii the woman is formed last, as a kind of afterthought, to be the man's companion, and we are not told that God breathed into her the breath of life; whereas in ch. i man and woman are formed by the same creative act in the likeness of God.

(*c*) *Relation to the Babylonian Cosmogony.* We have seen that there is some similarity between this section and the Creation epic, but there is a closer connexion with what we may call the alternative (Babylonian) account of the Creation. This begins with a description of a time when neither trees, houses, cities (Nippur, Ekur, Uruk, &c.), temples, &c., existed; all was sea. First were made the ancient cities Iridu, E-Sakkila, Babel, then certain gods, then earth, and the firmament (?), then, in succession, men, animals, the Euphrates and Tigris, vegetation, and various kinds of animals. The conclusion of this account is lost. Details of comparison between this alternative account and that in ii. 4b–25 will be given in the commentary. Cf. also pp. 16 ff.

4b. the LORD God. LORD here and elsewhere in the O. T., when printed in small capitals, represents YHWH, the Israelite name of God[2]. Some time after the return from the Captivity, and

[1] Only in ii. 4b—iii. 24 in the Pentateuch.

[2] When the Heb. YHWH is immediately preceded by the Heb.

field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had

before the beginning of the Christian era, the Jews came to believe that the Divine Name YHWH was too sacred to be uttered on ordinary occasions. It was said to be pronounced by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement. At other times, when any one read or quoted aloud from the O.T., *'Adonay*, 'Lord,' was usually[1] substituted for YHWH, and similarly the LXX has *Kurios*, the Vulgate *dominus*, and the E.V. LORD, where the Heb. has YHWH. Hebrew was originally written without vowels, but when the 'vowel points[2]' were added[3] the vowels of *'Adonay* or *'Elohim*[1] were written with YHWH, as a direction that these words were to read instead of the word whose consonants were YHWH; thus we find the combinations YeHoWaH[4] and YeHoWiH. At the Reformation, the former being the more usual, was sometimes used as the name of the God of Israel, and owing to ignorance of its history was misread as 'Jehovah[5],' a form which has established itself in English, but does not give the pronunciation of the Divine Name it represents. Owing to the absence of vowel points in ancient Hebrew we do not certainly know how the Tetragrammaton[6] was read, but the current theory holds that it was sounded as *Yahweh*.

YHWH was the personal name of the God of Israel; just as Chemosh was the personal name of the God of Moab, and as Jesus was the personal name of our Lord.

The origin and derivation of YHWH are unknown, and are the subject of many theories. The name is often connected with the root *hwh*, 'to be,' either as 'He who causes to be,' the First Cause, or 'He who is,' the Self-Existent, the Eternal. The latter view is given in Exod. iii. 14[7], where God tells Moses that His name is *'Ehyeh* (the first person corresponding to YHWH, taken as a verbal form in the third person) or *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*. The

word for Lord, *'Adonay*, YHWH is represented in the E.V. by GOD, printed thus in capitals, e.g. Ezek. ii. 4, Lord GOD. Herein the E.V. follows the Vulgate, which followed the Jewish usage, indicated in the text of our Hebrew Bibles by the vowel points.

[1] See previous note.

[2] Dots and strokes to indicate vowels, something after the fashion of shorthand.

[3] About the sixth century A.D. *Ges.-Kautzsch*, p. 36.

[4] The 'e' after 'Y,' instead of the 'a' of *'Adonay*, is due to a technicality of Hebrew writing.

[5] In the Vulgate, in mediaeval Latin, and in German, the Heb. Y is represented by J, and W by V.

[6] A term meaning 'four-lettered,' often used for YHWH.

[7] Probably an editorial note.

yet sprung up: for the LORD God had not caused it to
rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the
6 ground; but there went up a mist from the earth, and

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first person is used because God Himself is the speaker. The phrase *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* is variously rendered by R. V. and R. V. marg., 'I am that I am,' 'I am because I am,' 'I am who am,' or 'I will be that I will be,' and the simple *'Ehyeh* either 'I am' or 'I will be.'

YHWH has also been connected with *hwh*, in the sense of 'fall,' 'He who causes to fall,' e.g. 'the Rain-giver.' It is possibly a foreign word, the explanation of which must be sought for in some non-Hebrew or even non-Semitic language.

According to the Priestly[1] and the Elohistic[2] Documents this Divine Name was first revealed to Israel through Moses at the time of the Exodus. According to another writer[3] this name was first known in the time of Enosh, the grandson of Adam. The Primitive Document, as we see, uses it from the beginning.

God, Heb. *'Elohim*[4], a common noun in the plural, used for supernatural beings, and especially for 'God,' both for the true God and for false gods. The form is commonly explained as a plural of majesty. The root is found in several Semitic languages, e. g. the Arabic *Allah*, but its etymology is unknown. It is sometimes explained as 'Object of dread,' sometimes as 'the Mighty One.' It is the ordinary Divine Name used by the Priestly writer and the Elohist until they record the revelation of the name YHWH.

made earth and heaven. The following narrative says nothing about the making of heaven. Perhaps the Primitive Document originally included an account of such a 'making,' for which the editor substituted the Priestly narrative given in i. 1—ii. 4a.

5. no plant, &c. Here the primaeval chaos is a parched, barren land, instead of the dark waters of i. 2.

there was not a man to till the ground, and therefore there could be no crops of grain, which to men are an important part of the 'herb of the field[5].' Cf. also on the following verse.

6. there went up a mist. The word 'mist[6]' only occurs here and in Job xxxvi. 27, R. V.:—

> 'For he draweth up the drops of water,
> Which distil in rain from his *vapour*.'

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[1] Exod. vi. 2 ff. [2] Exod. iii. 13 ff.
[3] Perhaps J^2; see p. 23 and on iv. 26.
[4] On the insertion of *'Elohim* in ii. and iii. see (*a*), p. 90.
[5] So Gunkel. [6] Heb. *'ed*.

watered the whole face of the ground. And the LORD 7
God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed
into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became

Here the LXX and other versions have 'spring' or 'fountain,' and a cognate Assyrian word[1] means 'flow' or 'tide.' Possibly, therefore, instead of 'mist' we should understand a stream; perhaps the great river that in some ancient cosmogonies encircles the whole earth; see the next clause.

The Hebrew construction should naturally describe a condition of things rather than an event; that is, before the series of events narrated in the following verses there was barren land, either enveloped in a watery mist or washed by a great river. Verses 5 and 6 do not seem quite consistent; in verse 5 rain is thought of as the means of watering the ground, in verse 6 a mist or stream. Some scholars reconcile the two by understanding 'mist' to mean a rain-cloud; others suppose that verse 5 is an addition; or that verse 6 once stood where we now have verses 10–14.

4b–6. The parallel lines of the corresponding cuneiform account are as follows:—

'No holy house for the gods had been made in a sacred place,
No reed had sprung up, no tree had been formed,
No brick had been laid, no brick building had been erected,
No house had been made, no city built,
No city had been made, . . .
Nippur had not been made, Ekur had not been built,'

. . . . . .

7. formed[2]. This narrative does not use the word 'create.'

man of the dust of the ground: better, 'the man,' or in idiomatic English 'a man.' i. 27 gives the creation of mankind; this verse, the formation of an individual. From the previous verse we should gather that the 'dust' had been moistened, and had become clay. 'Man (*adam*) . . . of the ground' (*adamah*) may express the idea that man was named after the soil from which he was taken, which he tilled during his life, and to which he returned at death. This description of man's body as made of dust from the ground has been styled 'A first attempt at organic chemistry[3].'

breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Breath and breathing are the most obvious tokens of life; when they cease life has ceased also. The clay figure which Yahweh had moulded became alive, 'a living soul,' when He breathed into its nostrils. The Divine breath passing into the figure became a separate principle of life. The natural deduction is that the life of man is,

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[1] *Edu.* [2] Heb. *yaçar.* [3] Gunkel.

8 a living soul. And the LORD God planted a garden eastward, in Eden; and there he put the man whom he

as it were, a fragment of the Divine Life. Man is not only made in the image of God, as in the Priestly writer, but lives by the breath of God. But probably neither writer drew theological deductions from his statements; they simply explained how man came to be, without working out the logical consequences of the method by which he was created or formed.

The parallel lines of the Babylonian account are :—

'That the gods might dwell in pleasant places,
He (Merodach) formed men,
The goddess Amru together with him formed the seed[1] of men.'

One form of the legend of Prometheus tells how he moulded men and animals of clay and animated them with fire from heaven.

St. Paul emphasizes this account of the origin of man in 1 Cor. xv. 47-49, *lit.*, 'The first man was of the earth, made of dust[2],' and so throughout the paragraph we might substitute 'made of dust' for 'earthy.'

8. the LORD God planted. Another anthropomorphic phrase.

a garden eastward, in Eden. 'Garden' would be better 'park' or 'pleasaunce.' The author may have had in mind the magnificent parks or gardens which surrounded the palaces of Egyptian and Assyrian kings. 'Eastward' from Palestine, which is the standpoint of the writer.

'Eden' is also referred to in Isa. li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13, 'the garden of God'; xxxi. 9-18, 'the trees of Eden'; xxxvi. 35; Joel ii. 3. We also find mention of an Eden[3], a petty state in Syria or Mesopotamia, in the closing period of the kingdom of Judah; but it is not likely that the writer identified his Eden with any neighbouring district known to him. 'Eden' has the consonants of a Hebrew root meaning 'delightful, pleasurable,' and must have suggested this idea to Israelites. The name, however, was probably part of the ancient tradition. It is sometimes connected with a Babylonian word for 'steppe, wilderness,' the garden of Eden having been planted in the midst of the primaeval wilderness. But none of these rival theories are very probable.

If, as is often supposed, verses 10-14 are a later addition[4], the original story did not define the position of Eden. In the same

[1] Query, 'the children.' [2] R. V. 'earthy,' Greek *choichos*.
[3] Or 'Edens.' 'Children of Eden,' 2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12; 'Eden,' Ezek. xxvii. 23; 'house of Eden,' Amos i. 5.
[4] See below.

had formed. And out of the ground made the LORD 9
God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and
good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the
garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

way a modern devotional writer would not fix the position of Heaven in the Universe, even if he thought of it as a locality.

For 'garden of Eden' the LXX has 'paradise of Edem' (*sic*), and the Vulgate 'paradise of pleasure.' Hence our 'Paradise' as a name for Eden and for the Christian Heaven. The word is found in the Hebrew O. T. in the form *pardes*[1], R. V. and marg. 'forest, park, orchard, paradise.' The word is found in ancient Persian in the sense of enclosure; and has been read in Assyrian in the form *Pardesu* as the name of a country.

9. every tree: every kind of tree.

the tree of life: i. e. according to iii. 22 the tree whose fruit renders those who eat it immortal.

the tree of the knowledge of good and evil: similarly the tree whose fruit enables those who eat it to distinguish between good and evil. 'Good and evil' does not, as far as the mere words are concerned, refer to morality, it might mean simply 'useful and injurious'; but the phrase is intended in a general sense. The man was not without knowledge in the beginning, but the eating of such fruit would give him added insight, wisdom, and knowledge; the only acquisition of the kind mentioned in Genesis as the result of eating the fruit is the consciousness of sex.

Partly because in iii. 3 only one tree—the tree of knowledge—is spoken of as 'in the midst of the garden,' it is sometimes supposed that the 'tree of life' here and in iii. 22 is an addition from another story. Such a theory, however, seems unnecessary.

The sacred tree played a great part in ancient worship and mythology. Robertson Smith[2] writes: 'There is abundant evidence that in all parts of the Semitic area trees were adored as divine. ... By the modern Arabs sacred trees are called *manahil*, places where angels or *jinn* descend and are heard dancing and singing. It is deadly danger to pluck as much as a bough from such a tree.' A sacred tree, or its representative the *ashera*, was a feature of the ancient sanctuaries or high places, e. g. the oaks or terebinths at Shechem and Mamre, consecrated by their association with Abraham[3]. A 'Tree of Life[4]' and other marvellous trees figure in Babylonian myths; and sacred trees often appear on the monuments.

[1] Neh. ii. 8; Eccles. ii. 5; Cant. iv. 13.
[2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 185 ff.
[3] Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 18, xviii. 1; Judges ix. 37.
[4] Cf. on iii. 22.

10 And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads.

10–14. These verses are generally regarded as a later addition to the narrative. This 'jejune geographical description[1]' is not in keeping with the simple picturesqueness of the rest of the chapter, and rather reminds one of an extract from a manual of general information. The watering of the garden has already been provided for in verse 6.

10. went out of Eden to water the garden. This is a little difficult to understand; it apparently means that the river flowed into the garden from the part of Eden outside of it—in verse 8 the garden is *in*, and therefore only a part of, Eden. We should rather have expected the river to rise in the garden; but possibly the writer has in his mind some tradition now lost to us.

from thence it was parted, and became four heads. On leaving the garden it divided itself into four branches or arms, as a river with a delta, e. g. the Nile, divides itself into branches at the entrance to the delta.

ii. 11–14. *The Four Rivers.* These rivers have given rise to much controversy, and are the subject of many theories, no one of which has yet been generally accepted.

The author begins with what is least familiar to himself and his readers. The last river mentioned is the Euphrates, concerning which no details are given; they were unnecessary; every Israelite knew all about the Euphrates. The last but one is the somewhat less familiar Tigris[2], whose exact course was apparently not known to the writer (see below). The first two, the Pishon and the Gihon, raise difficulties as yet unsolved. Attempts have been made to connect them with streams at present existing in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris, but these attempts have met with little success. Thus Prof. Sayce identifies the Gihon and the Pishon with the Kerkhah and the Pallakopas Canal, two streams which in ancient times flowed into the Persian Gulf, like the Euphrates and the Tigris. Thus the 'river' is the Gulf, and the 'four heads' the four streams mentioned[3]. But in our chapter the four heads flow out of and not into the river. Others identify the Gihon and the Pishon with streams in Mesopotamia or Armenia. But it is more probable that a solution must be looked for in the limited geographical knowledge of the writer and his times, and that no attempt must be made to square these verses

[1] So Dillmann.

[2] *Hiddekel* of E. V. is its Hebrew name, the river is only mentioned elsewhere in the O. T. in Dan. x. 4.

[3] *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 97, 98,

The name of the first is Pishon: that is it which com- 11
passeth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold;
and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and 12
the onyx stone. And the name of the second river is 13

with actual geography as known to-day. The writer's meaning may be that the four most important rivers of his world had their sources in a great head of waters in Eden. The Nile would be one of these rivers, and is intended by the Gihon; the fourth, the Pishon, cannot be certainly identified. To a reader with modern maps before him it may be difficult to believe that any one ever supposed that the Nile and the Euphrates came from the same source. But our author was only acquainted with a small area of the world's surface, surrounded by vast unknown regions, where imagination had free scope. Out of these unexplored lands the great rivers flowed into the known world of the day; it seemed quite possible that their courses, before they came within the range of Hebrew knowledge, might so turn and wind as to meet in one common origin. The sources of the Nile have only been discovered in recent times. Cf. below.

11. Pishon. The name, if it is a real Hebrew word, would be derived from a root meaning 'to spring' or 'leap up,' and might be given to any turbulent stream. An Assyrian word *pisannu* is cited, meaning 'water channel.' The position of the river is defined by the statement that **it compasseth the whole land of Havilah ... where there is gold,** (**12**) which is **good,** together with **bdellium and the onyx stone.** The position of Havilah is uncertain; the name[1] may denote more than one district, and the products, gold, &c., mentioned here are found in too many places or are too obscure to help us much. The most probable view is that Havilah is the north-east district of Arabia, which is thought of as extending indefinitely eastward. The Pishon might then be one of the great Indian rivers, the Indus or the Ganges.

12. bdellium[2]: a word of uncertain meaning, variously explained as an aromatic gum, or as pearls or some kind of precious stone. The latter view better suits the connexion with gold and the 'onyx stone.'

onyx[3] (marg. 'beryl') **stone.** The word rendered thus has also been taken to mean 'turquoise, malachite, carbuncle,' &c.; it denotes some precious stone, but we do not know which.

[1] Found Gen. x. 7, 29 (which see), xxv. 18; 1 Sam. xv. 7; 1 Chron. i. 9, 23.
[2] Heb. *bedolah*. [3] Heb. *shoham*.

Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of
14 Cush. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel:
that is it which goeth in front of Assyria. And the
15 fourth river is Euphrates. And the LORD God took the
man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it
16 and to keep it. And the LORD God commanded the
man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely
17 eat: but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,
thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest
thereof thou shalt surely die.

13. Gihon[1]. Taken as a Hebrew word the name might mean 'bursting through'; a corresponding word *Jeihun* is still used as the name or title of Armenian and Indian rivers. But as this river is defined as compassing **the whole land of Cush**, and Cush is usually Ethiopia, the Gihon is probably the Nile. Those who wish to identify the Gihon and the Pishon with actual rivers in the neighbourhood of the Tigris suppose that Cush here is a district in Babylonia[2].

14. Hiddekel: Tigris; both names are corruptions of the Assyrian name which is sometimes read as *Idiglat*. Tigris is the Greek form.

in front of Assyria: marg., 'toward the east of.' Assyria, however, stretched both east and west of the Tigris. Probably the writer was only imperfectly acquainted with the political geography of what was to him the Far East. It has also been suggested that *Asshur* here is not Assyria, but the ancient city of Asshur, which lay on the west bank of the Tigris.

15. dress: tend.

16. The narrative is more graphic if this verse is read immediately after verse 9.

Of every tree . . . thou mayest . . . eat. Nothing is said of the 'herb yielding seed,' the grain, which in i. 29 is also assigned to man for food. In Paradise man was to be spared the labour of ploughing, sowing, reaping, thrashing, &c.

17. of the tree of . . . knowledge . . . thou shalt not eat. As the narrative stands, this prohibition is an arbitrary test of obedience; but probably in the story which the inspired writer adapted to his purpose it was a property of the tree itself that its fruit was fatal to men.

in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

[1] Also the name of a brook near Jerusalem, 1 Kings i. 33, &c.
[2] See on Gen. x. 7.

And the LORD God said, It is not good that the man 18
should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.
And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast 19
of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them
unto the man to see what he would call them: and
whatsoever the man called every living creature, that was

The natural meaning of this is that death would at once follow eating; but in the sequel Adam and Eve do not die at once, but, apparently, are left to die a natural death in old age. The difficulty is not serious, in any case the point is that but for disobedience they would have lived for ever in the garden of Eden; as it was, they became subject to death. How soon death came was a secondary matter. Nevertheless there is a slight inconsistency which is not removed by such explanations[1] as that 'the troubles and sufferings to which man became liable through sin are nothing else than disturbances of life, the beginnings of death;' or the Rabbinical suggestion that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and that Adam and Eve died before the end of the first millennium. It is more reasonable to suppose that God in His mercy mitigates the severity of the penalty He had in the first instance ordained[2]. But probably here again the difficulty is due to imperfect adaptation of ancient tradition.

18. It is not good that the man should be alone. Man is essentially social, and only lives his true life in fellowship with his kind.

I will make: not 'we,' as in the 'Let us make' of i. 26. The LXX and Vulgate have 'Let us make' here also, probably in order to harmonize the two accounts.

an help meet: marg., (an help) 'answering to'; a suitable companion and fellow worker.

19. out of the ground the LORD God formed, &c. We should probably read with the LXX, 'also formed.' Man and the other animals were fashioned out of the same material; but it is *not* said of them that Yahweh breathed into them the breath of life.

Notice the absence of any reference to fishes. It was, indeed, obvious that a fish could not be a 'help meet' for the man; still, the silence on this head probably shows that the narrative originated in an inland district.

Corresponding verses of Babylonian poems enumerate a number of animals, wild cow, &c., &c., but are similarly silent about the fish.

whatsoever the man called every living creature, that

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[1] Quoted with approval by Dillmann. [2] So Gunkel.

20 the name thereof. And the man gave names to all
cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of
the field; but for man there was not found an help meet
21 for him. And the LORD God caused a deep sleep to fall
upon the man, and he slept; and he took one of his ribs,
22 and closed up the flesh instead thereof: and the rib,
which the LORD God had taken from the man, made he

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was the name thereof. The man would speak of each animal according to the impression he received of its nature, use, &c.; and the epithet or phrase he applied to it would be its name. The only example given is the naming of the woman in verse 23.

20. for man (R. V. marg., 'Adam') **there was not found an help meet for him.** Instead of 'man' we should probably read 'the man,' as elsewhere in this account. The fashioning of the animals was an unsuccessful experiment, a striking instance of the frank anthropomorphism of this writer. Nothing is said so far of any other purpose these animals could serve, or of their relation to man.

21. deep sleep. One word[1], and that a special term used of a trance or supernatural slumber, e. g. of Abram when he saw the vision of the furnace and the lamp[2], and of Saul and his followers when David was in their camp[3]. The LXX translates it as 'ecstasy[4].' The man was made to sleep that he might not see the actual working of Yahweh; in the same way the animals were not fashioned in his presence, but elsewhere, and were 'brought' to him.

22. made he: R. V. marg., Heb. 'builded he into,' apparently used as a foundation upon which He constructed the woman. Here, as in the case of the animals, we are not told that Yahweh breathed into her the breath of life.

21, 22. This 'building' of the rib up into a woman is another instance of the unhesitating anthropomorphism of the Primitive Document (J). The verses obviously provide an explanation of the mutual affection of man and woman—it is the natural drawing together of two parts which once belonged to the same life; but the tradition hardly arose as a theory to explain conjugal love. There is more plausibility in the suggestion that the verses are simply the proverb 'Bone of my bone,' &c., translated into narrative.

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[1] Heb. *tardemah*. [2] Gen. xv. 12.
[3] 1 Sam. xxvi. 12; cf. Job iv. 13, xxxiii. 15; Prov. xix. 15.
[4] *Ekstasis*.

a woman, and brought her unto the man. And the man 23
said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my
flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken
out of Man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and 24

23. This is now: in contrast to the former unsatisfactory companions offered to him: this time the woman was a perfect help meet for, or more literally 'corresponding to,' the man.

bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: a popular phrase, so Gen. xxix. 14, Laban of Jacob; 2 Sam. v. 1, the tribes of Israel of David, &c.

Woman (Heb. *Ishshah*) . . . **Man** (Heb. *Ish*). As *ah* is the feminine termination in Hebrew, the word for 'woman' was naturally taken to be the feminine of that for 'man.' The LXX reads, instead of 'out of man,' 'out of her man,' i. e. her husband (Heb. *ishshah*[1]), which makes the correspondence still closer. Modern lexicons state that there is no etymological connexion between *ish* and *ishshah*. Popular etymologies such as this are a characteristic of this document[2]; they are rather cases of playing upon words than serious etymologies.

24. The Priestly account of the Creation culminated in the institution of a piece of religious ritual, the observance of the Sabbath; this narrative leads up to the origin of matrimony. The verse can hardly have been intended as a formal injunction of monogamy, but the human race originates in a pair, man and woman; and the writer probably thinks of this as the natural and most desirable arrangement. The explanation is sometimes given that only one woman was created because one was sufficient for the continuance of the race. This verse is quoted by our Lord as an argument against divorce for trivial reasons[3]; and by Paul against unchastity[4], and as illustrating the relation of Christ to the Church[5].

Therefore shall a man leave his father, &c. This verse is often understood to mean that a man on marrying would leave his father's family and attach himself to that to which his wife belonged; and it is therefore held to be a reminiscence of a time when a bridegroom went to live in his wife's home[6]. The cases

[1] Some details of the Hebrew writing as found in the extant MSS. and in printed copies are ignored, as they were absent in ancient Hebrew. See p. 42.

[2] See p. 22.

[3] Matt. xix. 5; Mark x. 7.

[4] 1 Cor. vi. 16.

[5] Eph. v. 31.

[6] Such a union is styled technically a *beena* marriage, and the state of society in which it is the custom the *matriarchate*; cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 71.

his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they
25 shall be one flesh. And they were both naked, the man
and his wife, and were not ashamed.

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of Jacob and of Moses are cited. The custom, however, did not exist in Israel under the monarchy; and the verse may merely refer to a man setting up a separate home for himself and his wife, apart from his parents.

they. The LXX and other ancient versions read 'they twain,' and the verse is quoted in this form in the N. T.

25. naked, ... and ... not ashamed: like children, especially in the East, where children habitually go naked; cf. on iii. 7.

iii. THE FALL (J).

iii. 1–6. The serpent tempts the woman, and she eats the forbidden fruit, and induces the man to do so also.

iii. 7. They discover that they are naked, and make themselves aprons.

iii. 8–10. Hearing the sound of Yahweh walking in the garden they hide themselves; but He calls to the man, who excuses himself for hiding on the ground that he was naked.

iii. 11, 12. Taxed by Yahweh, the man acknowledges that he has eaten the forbidden fruit, but pleads that it was given him by the woman.

iii. 13. The woman pleads that she was beguiled by the serpent.

iii. 14, 15. The curse on the serpent: it shall go upon its belly, and eat dust, and be at enmity with men.

iii. 16. The curse on the woman. She shall suffer pain in bearing children, and shall be subject to her husband.

iii. 17–19. The curse on the man. He shall live by wearisome drudgery, and when it is over he shall return to the dust from which he was fashioned.

iii. 20. The man names the woman, Eve.

iii. 21. Yahweh makes skin-coats for them.

iii. 22–24. Lest the man should eat of the fruit of the tree of life, and thus become immortal, Yahweh drives him from the garden, and stations Cherubim to keep him out of it.

(*a*) *Sources.* Chapter iii is a continuation of ii. 4ᵇ–25; cf. what has been said of the sources of that section.

(*b*) *Babylonian Parallels.* In this story the serpent plays the part of the enemy of God and man, and is vanquished and cast down by God. It is one of the many versions of the contest between the God (or gods) of heaven and the powers of

Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of 3

darkness; the serpent corresponds to Tiamat and her allies in the Epic of Creation[1]. There is no exact parallel to this chapter in Babylonian documents yet discovered; there are, however, some slight points of contact between it and the story of 'Adapa and the South Wind,' which has been found on one of the Amarna tablets[2]. The similarity of the two names—Adam, Adapa—has been cited as a point of contact; but is purely accidental[3]. Adapa breaks the wings of the South Wind, and is summoned to give account to Anu[4]; his father Ea[4] warns him that he will be offered 'bread of death' and 'water of death[5],' but must refuse them, which he accordingly does. Anu upbraids him, and—according to one interpretation—tells him that he has lost immortality by his refusal. Whether Anu is supposed to be speaking the truth is not obvious. Clearly this story has very little in common with our narrative, especially as regards moral or spiritual teaching.

Forbidden fruit or food is a familiar feature of folklore. For instance, there is the legend of the tree with golden apples in the garden of the daughters of Hesperus, guarded by a hundred-headed dragon, which was slain[6] by Hercules. Again, there is the story of Persephone, who had been carried off to the lower world. Hermes was sent to bring her back, but it was found that she had eaten part of a pomegranate, and she was obliged to sojourn in the lower world for a third of each year.

A trace of a Babylonian version of the story of the Fall is often supposed to be found in a seal, sometimes described in popular works as 'representing the temptation of Adam and Eve and the tree of life.' It depicts a tree with fruit upon it; on the two sides there are two clothed figures of a man and a woman, sitting on stools with their hands stretched out towards the fruit. Behind the woman there is a serpent, erect, poised upon the last fold of its tail, with its head above that of the woman.

1. the serpent. It has been pointed out that the serpent here is a representative, and perhaps an unconscious reminiscence of such primaeval powers of darkness as Tiamat. So far later exegesis is justified in regarding the Tempter as an incarnation of Satan.

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[1] See p. 69. [2] See p. 71.

[3] Sayce's view that *Adapa* may be read as *Adama* is not adopted by other Assyriologists, e. g. Jensen and Gunkel.

[4] Babylonian Deity.

[5] These are called later on by Anu 'bread of life' and 'water of life.'

[6] According to one form of the legend.

the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of

So Rev. xii. 9, 'The great dragon, . . . the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan'; and Milton[1]:—

> 'Satan . . . . . sought
> Where to lie hid . . . . .
> . . . . . and with inspection deep
> Considered every creature, which of all
> Most opportune might serve his wiles; and found
> The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.'

Nevertheless the idea is foreign to this narrative, in which the serpent is merely 'a beast of the field' which Yahweh had made. A modern reader wonders how He came to fashion so evil a creature, and recalls Omar Khayyam's complaint:—

> 'Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
> And ev'n with Paradise devise the Snake.'

But obviously no such ideas were in the mind of the writer. To him, as to Milton's Satan, the repulsive, venomous serpent seemed the 'fittest imp of fraud,' the natural enemy of man. The writer, a poet and practical moralist, of simple, childlike spirit, did not consider what theological deductions might be drawn from the mechanism of his story. Hence we must not think that this chapter offers us an explanation of the origin of evil; evil is present in the serpent before man fell, and man sins through the influence of the evil outside of him. At the same time we must remember that this chapter does not belong to the document in which 'God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good'; the author of the latter statement was not thinking of the serpent.

said. So too the ass spoke to Balaam[2]; moreover, that such marvels should happen in the primaeval days before the Fall seemed natural to the primitive imagination.

God. It is a characteristic of this document that it uses the Divine Name, Yahweh; but Yahweh was the name of the God of Israel, and is not usually put into the mouths of non-Israelites, or used by Israelites in speaking to them. The ancestors of Israel are reckoned as Israelites, or, as we might say, 'true believers.' Obviously the serpent was not an Israelite.

Yea, hath God said? 'Did God really say?' insinuating that the prohibition was absurd, unreasonable, incredible. This prohibition was addressed to the man before either the animals or the woman were formed, and we are left to imagine how the

[1] *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IX.

[2] Num. xxii. 28.

any tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the 2
serpent, Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may
eat: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of 3
the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither
shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto 4
the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth 5
know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall
be opened, and ye shall be as God, knowing good and

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serpent and the woman became acquainted with it. No doubt, according to a common habit of mind, the author thought of his characters as knowing what he knew himself.

Ye shall not eat of any tree. The marginal alternative, 'all the trees,' is less probable as a translation of the actual words, and is inconsistent with the context. The serpent 'magnifies the strictness' of Yahweh, a method often adopted from better motives, but with equally unfortunate results.

3. the tree which is in the midst of the garden. No second tree is mentioned, and no name is given to this tree. Possibly the woman first learnt from the serpent the qualities of the forbidden fruit.

touch. There was no word of 'touching' in the original prohibition. The woman had corrected the serpent's misrepresentation, but could not refrain from a slight exaggeration on her own account. Jewish legend made this the cause of her fall. Hereupon—it said—the serpent pushed her hand against the tree; she touched it, and, of course, nothing happened. 'See,' said he, 'you have broken the command not to touch, and you have not died; now you can be sure that you can safely eat the fruit.'

4. Ye shall not surely die: rather, 'Ye shall certainly not die.'

5. God doth know, &c. The serpent explains the prohibition as due to God's jealousy of man—a familiar idea in primitive religion, which still survives side by side with more worthy ideas of the Deity.

your eyes shall be opened, to see in things qualities to which they were as yet blind.

as God. The R. V. marg., 'as gods,' would be less definite and emphatic; it would take *elohim* in its general sense of supernatural beings, and would make the sentence mean, 'Ye shall have supernatural knowledge.' The rendering 'God' is more commonly adopted.

The serpent charges God with malicious falsehood. This tree—according to him—might have been a supreme blessing to man, and God had not only withheld it from him, but had told him lies

6 evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good
for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that
the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of
the fruit thereof, and did eat; and she gave also unto
7 her husband with her, and he did eat. And the eyes of
them both were opened, and they knew that they were
naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made

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about it, obviously because He could not otherwise have prevented him from eating the fruit.

6. the woman saw, &c. Hitherto, perhaps, the prohibition had led the woman to think of the forbidden fruit as harmful, poisonous, as we should say, and she had shrunk from it. Now she saw it in a new light, her eyes seemed already opened. The fruit was to be the source of great and mysterious blessings. She looked at it more attentively, and it seemed beautiful and appetizing.

to be desired to make one wise. This would be suggested by the serpent's words, and she might think that she 'saw' some indication of this quality; but perhaps we should translate with R. V. marg., 'desirable to look upon.'

she took . . . and did eat. Her eyes and her mind were possessed with the fascinations of the tree, she could not but eat.

gave also unto her husband . . . and he did eat. The process in the man's case was no doubt the same as that just described, the woman taking the place of the serpent. The woman probably found the fruit pleasant, and told her husband so. So far it seemed as if the serpent were right, and the woman felt that she was asking her husband to share a great privilege. The Rabbis give another explanation: 'She thought within herself, If I die, let my husband also die, that he may not take another wife.'

7. the eyes of them both were opened. So far the promise of the serpent was fulfilled.

they knew that they were naked. They became conscious of sex, and experienced a feeling of shame. This was the first-fruits, and also an example of the gift of knowledge acquired by eating the forbidden fruit. It was no longer pleasant, but uncomfortable and distressing. The example shows us that hitherto they had been mentally children, innocent and inexperienced; the fruit had bestowed upon them in a moment the knowledge which ordinary adults obtain through gradual experience.

fig leaves: though small and not very suitable for the purpose, they are said to be the largest leaves of trees available in Palestine. It has been suggested that the 'fig' here is not the

themselves aprons. And they heard the voice of the 8
LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day:
and the man and his wife hid themselves from the
presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the
garden. And the LORD God called unto the man, and 9
said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard 10
thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was
naked; and I hid myself. And he said, Who told thee 11
that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree,
whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?
And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be 12

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usual fig-tree, but another large-leaved tree, perhaps the banana. Such a view is very improbable. How did the man and woman, who had never worn clothes, learn to sew? Was this also part of the newly gained knowledge? The author probably forgot for the moment the special conditions of his narrative, and wrote as if the man and woman were people of his own time. The mention of fig leaves has suggested that the tree of knowledge was a fig-tree.

aprons: rather as R. V. marg., 'girdles' or loin-cloths.

8. they heard, &c., &c. The garden is the home of Yahweh, as well as of the man and woman. Like some Eastern householder, He walks in His garden to enjoy the freshness of the evening breeze. The man and woman hear the sound of His footsteps.

voice: rather as R. V. marg., 'sound.'

cool: literally, as R. V. marg., Heb. 'wind.'

hid themselves, conscious of their disobedience, and ashamed of their nakedness, against which the fig leaves only imperfectly provided.

9. Where art thou? Hitherto they had fearlessly met with Yahweh and walked with Him when He came to the garden. Their absence itself suggested that they had been disobedient. The mere question does not necessarily imply that Yahweh did not know where the man was, but such an idea would be in keeping with the frank anthropomorphism of the narrative.

10. I was afraid, because I was naked. Doubtless true as far as it went, but not the whole truth. Naturally the man does not acknowledge the chief cause of his fear—his disobedience.

11. Who told thee, &c. The man's excuse betrayed him; it showed that he was in possession of new knowledge, which could only have come to him by eating the forbidden fruit.

12. The woman whom thou gavest, &c. The man hints that

13 with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. And
the LORD God said unto the woman, What is this thou
hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled
14 me, and I did eat. And the LORD God said unto the
serpent, Because thou hast done this, cursed art thou
above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon
thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the
15 days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and

Yahweh Himself is to blame, because He had given him a temptress for his companion.

13. the LORD God said unto the woman, &c. Yahweh takes no notice of the man's excuses and insinuations; but gives the woman, in her turn, an opportunity of speaking for herself.

14. the LORD God said unto the serpent, &c. The woman's excuse is not discussed. Yahweh's questions have now extracted the whole story, and He asks nothing of the serpent.

cursed . . . above all cattle: rather as R. V. marg., 'from among all cattle,' i. e. the curse laid upon the serpent separated and distinguished it from all other animals. There is no question in this narrative of any cursing of animals generally, though the ground is cursed. Possibly the life of the animals seemed happy compared to that of man. On the other hand, Paul's statement[1], that 'the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now,' may imply that the animals were included in the curse. We need hardly discuss the objection that the serpent should not have been cursed because animals are not responsible. Our author's moral philosophy did not make these fine distinctions between men and animals. In any case a beast which could talk, and tempt man, and tell lies about God might very well be morally responsible.

upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat. That serpents ate dust was 'a widespread belief among the ancients[2],' deduced no doubt from the constant proximity of the serpent's head to the dust. It is implied that before the Fall the serpent did not crawl upon its belly, and lived upon something else other than dust. In the seal mentioned above[3] the serpent is shown erect upon its tail. These details show that the author is thinking of an animal; to go upon his belly and to eat dust would not be a suitable curse for the Devil.

15. I will put enmity, &c. Part of the curse upon the serpent is the constant feud between the serpent tribe and mankind,

[1] Rom. viii. 22. [2] Dillmann. [3] See p. 103.

the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. Unto 16

a curse on both parties, exposing the one to incessant persecution and the other to danger and annoyance.

it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. The correct rendering and interpretation of this clause are doubtful, partly because the word[1] rendered 'bruise' is very rare, and of uncertain meaning; it only occurs here and in Job ix. 17, R. V., 'he *breaketh* me with a tempest,' and in Ps. cxxxix. 11, R. V., 'overwhelm,' marg. 'cover.' The R. V. rendering here, 'bruise,' or better 'crush,' is supported by the use of the root in Aramaic. Another rendering, 'lie in wait for,' has been obtained from the use of a similar root in that sense. The Syriac version and some MSS. of the LXX have a similar translation to that of the R. V. The mention of head and heel is easily understood; man attacks the serpent's head in order to deal a fatal blow; while the man's heel is most accessible to the serpent. 'Crush' or 'bruise,' however, is not a suitable term for a serpent's sting; but the use of a single verb with two different objects when it only suits one of them, though lax, is not impossible[2]. The alternative rendering, 'lie in wait for,' given in the margin of the R. V., is adopted by the better MSS. of the LXX. The man and the serpent are thus described as continually seeking to destroy each other; which, as far as the man is concerned, seems a little beneath his dignity. The Vulgate avoids the difficulties of both these renderings by giving the word different meanings in the two clauses; thus, 'She shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt lay snares for her[3] heel.' The use of one word in a single sentence in two senses would be startling, but the writers of the O. T. were rather fond of playing upon words in this fashion. The reader will notice the 'she[4]' of the Vulgate, which was interpreted by mediaeval commentators as meaning the Virgin Mary.

This verse has often been regarded as a *Protevangelion* or first announcement of the gospel of redemption. The 'seed of the woman,' according to this view, is Christ, who crushes the serpent's head, i. e. destroys the power of sin and Satan; although He Himself suffers in doing so—Satan 'bruises his heel.' The latter phrase, however, seems singularly inappropriate for the Passion. There is nothing to indicate that any such ideas were in the mind of the writer; but the contest between mankind and the serpent naturally became a symbol of the conflict between good and evil,

[1] Heb. *shuph*.
[2] The usage is recognized, and labelled by a technical term, *zeugma*.
[3] Or 'his' or 'its,' *ejus*. [4] *Ipsa*.

the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow
and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth
children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband,
17 and he shall rule over thee. And unto Adam he said,

in which the good triumphed in the person of Christ, but conquered through suffering. Moreover, ancient readers of this story knew parallel narratives, in which the serpent was an evil god and his antagonist a Divine redeemer, and would naturally find a similar meaning here.

The serpent is partly punished through the woman whom he has injured; and its false pretence of friendship leads to lasting enmity.

16. thy sorrow and thy conception: a pair of words expressing the single idea—'thy painful conception,' i. e. the sufferings of pregnancy and birth. Instead of 'conception' the LXX reads 'groaning,' which is accepted by some scholars. The writer simply intends to tell us that the sufferings of woman's sexual life are the punishment of the sin of the first woman—the sin by which she became conscious of her sex. It is true that the narrative, as it stands, seems to imply that no children were born before the Fall, but the writer can hardly have meant that no children would have been born but for the Fall. But, in any case, it is remarkable that in the Priestly Document the increase of the human race is due to the Divine blessing, here it is connected with sin and the Divine curse.

thy desire: another rare word, only elsewhere of Abel in relation to Cain[1], and of 'the beloved' in relation to Solomon[2]. The longing of the woman for the man is supposed to be greater than vice versa; and this is reckoned as part of the suffering borne by woman as the penalty of her sin. The LXX has 'thy returning[3].'

he shall rule over thee: the subjection of the wife to the husband, which almost amounted to slavery in the ancient East, is also part of the punishment of the first sin. The woman, like the serpent, is partly punished through the person she has injured.

17–19. The curse on the man must obviously apply also to the woman, otherwise she would remain immortal. Thus the heaviest punishment falls upon her.

17. Adam: better 'the man'; Adam is not used as a proper name till v. 1[4]. See, however, on iv. 25.

[1] Gen. iv. 7. [2] Song of Sol. vii. 10.
[3] *Apostrophe*, so also in Gen. iv. 7; and similarly in Song of Sol. vii. 10, *epistrophe*.
[4] Priestly Document.

Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife,
and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee,
saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground
for thy sake; in toil shalt thou eat of it all the days of
thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to 18
thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the 19
sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return
unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust
thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. And the man 20
called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother

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cursed is the ground for thy sake. In order to punish the man the ground is made fertile only in weeds, that man's work may be hard and his reward small. These verses show that agriculture was regarded by the writer as a thankless drudgery. The Hebrew of 'for thy sake,' as it would be written originally, might mean 'on account of thy transgression,' and it has been so translated. A very slight alteration would give us 'when thou tillest it,' which is substantially the rendering of the LXX, and is supported by the parallel of iv. 12. A similar uncertainty attaches to viii. 21 (which see).

toil: marg., 'sorrow'; the Hebrew word is the same as that translated 'sorrow' in the curse on the woman, verse 16.

18. thou shalt eat the herb of the field. Instead of living on the fruit of trees, which involved little work, man would have to undergo the drudgery of cultivating the soil. Here again what is a blessing in i. 29 appears as a curse in this narrative.

19. unto dust shalt thou return: and thus the threatened death would be inflicted; cf. on ii. 17.

20. This verse is not generally accepted as part of the main narrative, but is regarded as an addition from another source. As it stands, it connects with the reference to child-bearing in verse 16; but the man would not make a curse the occasion of giving the woman an honourable title; moreover he had already named her in ii. 23.

Eve: marg., Heb. *Havvah*, that is, 'Living,' or, 'Life.' The LXX renders the word here *Zoë*, 'Life'; elsewhere it gives *Eua* or, more probably, *Heua*; the Vulgate has *Heva*. The verse connects the name with the Hebrew root for 'life, live,' &c. It has also been connected with the Arabic *hayy*, 'kindred,' the woman as mother being the recognized bond of kinship in some primitive states of society. The name no doubt comes from ancient Semitic tradition, and may not be Hebrew at all, but only

21 of all living. And the LORD God made for Adam and
for his wife coats of skins, and clothed them.
22 And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become
as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest
he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of
23 life, and eat, and live for ever: therefore the LORD God
sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the
24 ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the
man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden

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hebraized in form; just as 'Boulogne' (Gate) is anglicized into Bull and (Gate). In Aramaic *hewya* means 'serpent'; and it has been conjectured that the name comes from a tradition in which the 'mother of all' was the primaeval dragon.

21. the LORD God made . . . coats of skins, having apparently slain animals for the purpose, another example of the writer's anthropomorphism.

Adam: rather 'the man'; cf. verse 17.

coats: 'under-garments, shirts, vests,' to replace the loin-cloths of fig leaves which had already been felt to be inadequate, verse 10. This act of Yahweh shows that He still cared for man's welfare, in spite of sin and the consequent curse. It is sometimes supposed that the original narrative of Eden and the Fall ends here, and that verses 22–24, and the reference to the 'tree of life' in ii. 9, are an addition from another document. The following notes will show that the standpoint of these verses seems to differ somewhat from that of the preceding narrative.

22. In this verse Yahweh seems to show just that fear, lest man become unduly gifted, which the serpent falsely attributes to Him in verse 5. Nothing is said of the woman in these verses.

is become as one of us: i.e. had attained to supernatural knowledge. For the 'us' see on i. 26.

tree of life: see on ii. 9.

live for ever. The sentence is unfinished, perhaps for rhetorical effect.

24. he placed at the east of the garden of Eden the Cherubim. The LXX has 'he placed him,' i.e. the man, 'at the east, &c., and he stationed the Cherubim,' a reading adopted by some scholars. According to this verse the man lived on the east of Eden, i. e. Eden lay to the west, whereas according to ii. 8 it lay to the east. Apart from the reading of the LXX, the Cherubim must have been stationed on the east, because the man lived eastward of Eden.

the Cherubim, and the flame of a sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.

the Cherubim mostly appear as the bearers or the guards of the throne of Yahweh. Thus the mercy-seat, His earthly throne, is guarded by two Cherubim[1]; and He 'sits between the Cherubim[2]'; there were figures of Cherubim on the veils of the Tabernacle, and on the walls of the Temple[3]. Yahweh rides upon a Cherub[4], and the mysterious beings which were seen by Ezekiel[5] bearing the throne of God are called Cherubim. The Cherubim were winged[6]; in the elaborate but obscure description in Ezekiel[7] the cherub has four faces, of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; but the prophet does not seem to follow ancient Israelite tradition. The origin both of the idea and of the name[8] are unknown. In Egyptian monuments winged figures are depicted on the top of sacred chests, and statues of winged man-headed bulls were common in Assyria, where also winged figures are shown in connexion with sacred trees. The Cherubim have also been compared to the mythical griffin[9], a winged creature with lion's claws, eagle's beak, &c. They are often regarded as personifying thunder-clouds; if so, **the flame of a sword, i.e.** the flaming sword, would be suggested by the lightning.

iv. 1–16. CAIN AND ABEL (J).

iv. 1, 2. Birth and occupations of Cain and Abel.

iv. 3–5. Their offerings; Abel's is accepted, but Cain's is rejected, and he is wroth.

iv. 6, 7. Yahweh remonstrates with Cain.

iv. 8. Cain murders Abel.

iv. 9–12. Yahweh reproaches Cain with his crime, and lays a curse upon him.

iv. 13–15. Cain begs that he may be protected from blood-revenge, and to that end Yahweh gives him a sign.

iv. 16. Cain goes into exile.

(*a*) *Source.* This narrative was taken from the Primitive Document. It may—or may not—have been originally part of the same story as that which tells us of the Creation and the Fall. The Divine Name is no longer *Yahweh Elohim*, 'Lord God,' but simply

[1] Exod. xxv. 18–22. [2] 1 Sam. iv. 4.
[3] Exod. xxvi. 1; 1 Kings vi. 35. [4] Ps. xviii. 10.
[5] Ezek. x. 1. [6] Exod. xxv. 20. [7] Ezek. i, ix, x.
[8] The statement that *kirubu* is found as the name of winged bulls in Assyria, and that this is the origin of 'Cherub,' is not commonly accepted.
[9] Greek, *grups*.

4 And the man knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man with *the*

Yahweh, 'Lord'; cf. on ii. 4. There are obvious obscurities and omissions, e. g. the absence of any reason why Cain's offering was rejected, which show that one of the editors has altered the original narrative; doubtless because some of its features were not in accordance with more advanced religious views.

(*b*) *Origin of the Narrative.* Nothing has yet been found in Babylonian or Egyptian inscriptions which can be regarded as the origin of this narrative or as a real parallel to it. But it seems to have been adapted from some non-Israelite tradition. It sets forth God's condemnation of murder, and the origin of the custom of blood-revenge, the latter, somewhat curiously, in the vengeance to be taken on any one who should kill Cain. In the original story the reason for the rejection of Cain's offering would be an important feature. As Cain is elsewhere the name of a people [1], the story has the appearance of a piece of tribal folklore; but this name may not have belonged to the original.

The similarity of names has led to the suggestion that Cain and Abel here are the same as the Tubal-cain and Jabal of verses 20 and 22 (which see).

1. Cain. The name in this document (J) is given by the mother; an indication that this was the older usage; we gather from the Priestly Document that in later times the father named the child [2].

'Cain' is used in Hebrew also as a common noun for 'lance,' and in allied languages for 'smith,' so in verse 22 Tubal-cain is the first smith. The connexion here with *kanah*, 'he acquired,' is rather a play upon the words than an etymology. 'Cain' is also the Hebrew name of the people known to us as the Kenites [3]. The antediluvian Cainan [4] is another form of Cain. According to some this story is really about the Kenites, the tribe 'Cain' being personified as an individual 'Cain.' The Kenites were nomads to the south of Judah, and the story would thus explain that they came to be nomads through murderous outrages against allied or 'brother' tribes. There are many difficulties in the way of accepting this view; obviously the Kenites would not have told such a story against themselves, and the Israelites were usually on friendly terms with them.

I have gotten a man with the help of **the LORD.** It is

[1] See on verse 1.

[2] So in xxi. 3, Abraham names Isaac; cf. Luke i. 62 f.

[3] Num. xxiv. 22, &c., more commonly in the patronymic form 'Cainite,' *kéni*.

[4] Gen. v. 9–14.

help of the LORD. And again she bare his brother Abel. 2
And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller
of the ground. And in process of time it came to pass, 3
that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering
unto the LORD. And Abel, he also brought of the 4
firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. And the

doubtful whether this is the right translation of the Hebrew. A more natural rendering of the Hebrew as it stands would be, 'I have gotten a man, even the Lord,' a meaning sometimes given to the text, it being supposed that Eve was looking for the Messiah or Divine Redeemer, and understood that He would be alike human, 'a man,' and Divine, 'Yahweh,' i. e. God incarnate. But we can hardly credit Eve with so accurate an anticipation of Nicene theology. The A. V., 'a man from the Lord,' is not really a translation of the Hebrew as it stands, but follows an ancient version[1] made from a manuscript with a slightly different reading. We cannot now be sure as to what was written originally.

2. Abel. No explanation is given of this name, which only occurs as a name in this chapter. But the word[2] also occurs as a common noun, 'vapour, breath,' and an Israelite reader would think 'vapour' a suitable name for a character who appears in history only to die. The name, however, may not be Hebrew, and is sometimes connected with the Assyrian *ablu* or *aplu*, 'son.' Others see in it a corruption of Jabal, or understand it to mean herdsman, &c. There is nothing to connect the name Abel with any tribe.

3. in process of time. When the brothers had grown up, so that there is an interval of many years between verses 1 and 3.

And . . . it came to pass, that. This phrase is far too emphatic and almost solemn for the single, short, unemphatic Hebrew word[3] it represents. We have no equivalent English idiom, and the force of the original would be most nearly expressed by omitting the 'came to pass.' Here, for instance, 'And in process of time Cain brought'; or perhaps by 'Now . . . Cain brought,' or the colloquial 'And so . . . Cain brought.'

brought . . . an offering. The author assumes the existence of altars, and of the custom of sacrifice, without giving any account of their origin. It is quite in accordance with the simplicity of early tradition that it should—almost in the same breath—explain the origin of some institutions and take for granted the existence of others.

4. firstlings . . . fat. The choicest animals, and the choicest part of the animals; Num. xviii. 17.

[1] Targum of Jonathan. [2] *Hebel.* [3] *Way'hi.*

5 LORD had respect unto Abel and to his offering: but
unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. And
6 Cain was very wroth, and his countenance fell. And
the LORD said unto Cain, Why art thou wroth? and why
7 is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well, shalt thou
not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin coucheth
at the door: and unto thee shall be his desire, and thou

4, 5. the LORD had respect, &c. Yahweh 'had respect,' i. e. approved of, and accepted. We are not told how acceptance was indicated. Perhaps the original author had in mind some omen, like the appearance of the entrails in a Roman sacrifice. Why He 'had respect unto' Abel and not unto Cain is not explained. Verse 7 speaks of 'doing well' and 'not well,' but the question is what were the actual well-doing and ill-doing in the present instance? Many answers have been given to this question, but none of them are satisfactory. Thus, that Cain's character and life were evil and Abel's good; or that Yahweh required a sacrifice of flesh; or that He approved of herdsmen, and not of peasants cultivating the ground. No doubt the story in its original form stated the ground of acceptance and rejection, and this statement has been omitted because it was not in accordance with the more advanced teaching of revelation. Probably Cain's error lay in some failure of ritual; cf. on verse 7.

7. The Hebrew of this verse is unintelligible, and the form in which we now have it cannot be that in which it stood in the original story. This original text cannot now be restored. The alteration may be due to careless copying, and perhaps also to the same reason which led to the omission of the ground of the rejection of Cain; see on verse 5.

shalt thou not be accepted? marg., 'shall it not be lifted up?' a more literal rendering of the Hebrew, which might mean 'shall not the countenance be lifted up?'; cf. the 'fallen' of the previous verses.

sin coucheth at the door: i. e. like a wild beast waiting to spring upon Cain. 'Sin' might stand here for the punishment, or the guilt, or the power of sin. The latter is perhaps supported by the close of the verse. Others render 'a sin-offering lies at the door,' i. e. 'the means of atonement are ready to hand.'

unto thee shall be his desire, &c. 'Desire' is the word used in iii. 16, and in the R. V. text apparently 'his' and 'him' refer to Abel, and the meaning is that Cain was jealous of Abel, but that he had no need to be so, because if Cain behaved well Abel his younger brother would look up to him, and be dependent on him, and obey him, as a wife does her husband.

shalt rule over him. And Cain told Abel his brother. 8
And it came to pass, when they were in the field, that
Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him. And 9
the LORD said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother?

In the R.V. marg. 'unto thee shall be its desire, but thou shouldest rule over it,' the 'its' and 'it' refer to *sin*, which is personified as eager to master Cain, who, however, ought to be able to master it.

We have commented on the R. V. because it is perhaps as good as any other of the many futile attempts to make sense of the present Hebrew text.

The LXX has for the first part of the verse, 'If thou didst rightly offer, but didst not rightly divide, thou didst sin, hold thy peace.' This would point to some failure in the details of ritual, and would mean, 'Thou hast no right to be angry because thine offering was not accepted; thou didst not observe the proper rules; do not complain.' The LXX rendering implies a text differing only in a few letters from that in our Hebrew manuscripts.

8. told. As the marg., 'said unto,' points out, this is another attempt to give an intelligible translation of words which do not make sense in the original. The Hebrew can only mean, 'Cain said unto Abel his brother,' and what he said is not given. The LXX, the Vulgate, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Syriac version insert here 'let us go into the field,' and this may be the original, and have been accidentally omitted. It would account for the clause 'when they were in the field,' and is accepted by many scholars. It is also possible that a clause was omitted here as unedifying, see on verse 6. But the scene of 3-7 would be a sanctuary, where even Cain would not venture to attack Abel, and the invitation to go 'into the field' would be intended to lure the victim to a less sacred spot[1]. A slight alteration would give us a text which would be roughly equivalent to 'Cain picked a quarrel[2].'

the field: the open country, as distinguished from the sanctuary (see above), or perhaps from the immediate neighbourhood of the home of Adam and his family.

rose up: a common phrase[3] for preparing to attack, almost equals 'set upon.'

9. Where is Abel thy brother? As in iii. 9ff., Yahweh seeks to elicit a confession; Cain does not prevaricate, or make excuses, but lies straight out.

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[1] Holzinger. [2] Gunkel.
[3] Judges viii. 21, ix. 43; 2 Kings iii. 24, &c.

And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper?
10 And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy
11 brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And
now cursed art thou from the ground, which hath opened
her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand;
12 when thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth
yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a wanderer
13 shalt thou be in the earth. And Cain said unto the
LORD, My punishment is greater than I can bear.
14 Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face
of the ground; and from thy face shall I be hid; and

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my brother's keeper: perhaps a grim pleasantry; Abel was the 'keeper' of sheep[1].

10. thy brother's blood crieth. Cf. Job xvi. 18; Isa. xxvi. 21; Heb. xii. 24, 'the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better than that of Abel.'

11. from the ground: ambiguous; perhaps meant to suggest both 'so as to be driven away from the ground' and 'cursed with a curse which works from the ground.' 'Ground[2]' is the cultivated land which Cain had tilled.

12. it shall not ... yield ... her strength. An enhancement of the curse on Adam, whereby the ground was only to yield a poor return to hard toil. Now for Cain it is to be absolutely barren; it is no use his tilling it any more, it will yield him nothing. If he remains in the hitherto cultivated district he will starve, hence he must wander forth.

a fugitive and a wanderer: practically a compound expression, like 'waste and void' in i. 2 (which see).

13. My punishment is greater than I can bear. This translation is required by the next verse, which dwells upon the severity of the punishment. The R. V. marg. offers us two alternatives, 'Mine iniquity is greater than I can bear,' i. e. the sense of sin and remorse was an intolerable burden; and 'Mine iniquity is greater than can be forgiven.'

14. from thy face shall I be hid: better perhaps, 'I shall hide myself,' or 'I must hide myself.' In the primitive tradition Yahweh is specially the ruler of the cultivated district, i. e. Canaan, and to leave Canaan for the surrounding wilderness was to lose the Divine protection in its ordinary manifestation.

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[1] So Gunkel. [2] *Adamah.*

I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer in the earth; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever findeth me shall slay me. And the LORD said unto him, Therefore whosoever 15
slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. And the LORD appointed a sign for Cain, lest any finding him should smite him.

So when David's enemies drove him from Canaan they bade him 'Serve other gods[1].' This is one of the many indications that our 'Primitive Document' was compiled after the settlement in Canaan. In still earlier times Yahweh was specially connected with Sinai.

it shall come to pass. See on verse 3.

whosoever findeth me. This seems inconsistent with the previous sections; Abel is dead; besides him we have only been told of Adam and Eve; Cain is going away from them. Whom could he meet? Some have suggested wild beasts; others children who were born to Adam while Cain was growing up; and others men of another race than that of Adam. None of these answers are probable, and, on the other hand, it has been maintained that this clause shows that the section on Cain and Abel was not originally part of the story of the first family. The apparent inconsistency may be due to an oversight on the part of the narrator.

shall slay me. The sentence suggests to us a whole world thirsting for vengeance on the first murderer; but the author was thinking of the wild life of the desert, where the wandering stranger who had not secured the hospitality and protection of some tribesman was the lawful prey of any one who met him.

15. vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold. Seven of the murderer's kindred, including, as a rule, the murderer himself, would be put to death. Cf. the execution of seven of Saul's family on account of his massacre of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi. 8. This verse is again referred to in verse 24.

a sign. Some mark on Cain's body to indicate that he was under Divine protection, not to brand him as a murderer. Possibly the author had in mind some tribal mark of the Kenites[2], like the Israelite circumcision. It should be noted that the narrative shows no trace of the idea that murder must necessarily be punished by death. Here, as in the case of Adam and Eve, Yahweh punishes, but yet shows a measure of mercy in relieving the culprits from the extreme consequences of their punishment. He provides Adam and Eve with clothes, and protects Cain from

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[1] 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. [2] Cf. above, p. 114.

16 And Cain went out from the presence of the LORD,
and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden.
17 And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bare
Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of

the lawless violence of the wilderness into which he is driven. The blood-revenge—the sevenfold vengeance—sanctioned by this story is rather a privilege of the kinsmen of the murdered man than a necessity of righteous government. Note also that though Yahweh's presence is specially in the cultivated district, yet He can protect Cain in the wilderness.

16. from the presence of the LORD: i. e. from the cultivated district; cf. above.

Nod, taken as a Hebrew word, would mean 'wandering,' and might be not a real name, but a mere title of the land of wandering in which the wanderer wandered. If so, the author may have had no actual country in his mind, and it would be useless to try to identify it.

iv. 17-24. GENEALOGY OF THE CAINITES (J).

iv. 16-22. Cain, Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, Methushael, Lamech, Jabal, and his brothers Jubal and Tubal-cain, and his sister Naamah.

The beginnings of civilization, of cities, of polygamy, of the life of herdsmen, of music, and of working with metal tools.

iv. 23, 24. Lamech's sword-song.

(*a*) *Source*. Though this section belongs to the Primitive Document it may not have been originally part of the story of Cain and Abel. It seems hardly consistent for the 'fugitive and wanderer' to build a city. Perhaps these verses were the original continuation of the story of Eden and the Fall; and the genealogy of Noah and of the human race was traced through Cain; and there was no mention of Seth[1]. In ch. v. 30 Lamech is the father of Noah.

(*b*) *Relation to chapter* v. This section and chapter v (P) are two editions of the same genealogy. It will be convenient to consider their relation and their corresponding features, and some points as to the various names, in dealing with chapter v, the longer and later version.

17. his wife. Where Cain got his wife from, and who were the people by whom he expected to be killed, are two similar problems. The usual explanation of the former difficulty is that he married his sister; but see on verse 14.

Enoch. See on ch. v. 18.

[1] Cf. p. 124 (*a*), and p. 125 (*d*).

the city, after the name of his son, Enoch. And unto 18
Enoch was born Irad: and Irad begat Mehujael: and
Mehujael begat Methushael: and Methushael begat
Lamech. And Lamech took unto him two wives: the 19
name of the one was Adah, and the name of the other
Zillah. And Adah bare Jabal: he was the father of such 20

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he builded a city: the *first* city, and thus made a great advance in civilization. 'City,' however, does not mean a large town, but any walled town. Our author is silent as to the position of this city, and we have no means of identifying it. There are many places with names more or less like Enoch.

18. Irad. See v. 15, Jared.

Mehujael. See v. 12, Mahalalel.

Methushael. See v. 21, Methuselah; the LXX has here also *Methousala*.

Lamech. See v. 25.

19. two wives. Another advance in civilization, according to the ideas of the ancient Israelites. The husbands hitherto mentioned, Adam and Cain, had, as far as we are told, only one wife each; and the author means that Lamech was the first to marry more than one. Polygamy was recognized as legitimate, and legislated for in the Pentateuch[1] and even in post-Christian Jewish writings. It was further commended by the example of the patriarchs. It was a specially common practice to take *two* wives, e. g. Abraham, Jacob, and Elkanah. See, however, on ii. 24.

Adah ... Zillah. Adah is variously explained as 'Light,' 'Adornment,' and even 'Darkness'; according to an early Christian scholar[2] Adah was the name of a Babylonian goddess corresponding to Hera or Juno. Zillah is explained as 'Shadow'; but it is possible that neither name is a Hebrew word. Adah also occurs as the name of one of Esau's Hittite wives[3], the ancestress of certain Edomite tribes.

20–22. Jabal ... Jubal ... Tubal-cain. The '-cain' in the last of these three is not perhaps properly part of the name, and without it the trio form a striking assonance, or—if a colloquial term may be excused—a jingle. Such groups of assonant names for brothers were not uncommon, e. g. the celebrated Mohammedan martyr brothers, Hasan and Hussain. Similarly the Arabs trans-

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[1] Deut. xxi. 15 ff., which specially refers to the case of *two* wives.

[2] Hesychius, third and fourth centuries.

[3] Gen. xxxvi. 2.

21 as dwell in tents and *have* cattle. And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle
22 the harp and pipe. And Zillah, she also bare Tubal-cain, the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and

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form Abel and Cain into Habil and Kabil[1]. Jabal (LXX, *Jobel*) and Jubal are both modifications of the Hebrew *Yobel*, 'ram,' and are closely connected with Abel. Jabal had to do with rams, as a herdsman[2] living in tents; Jubal, as a musician, the ram's horn being an important musical instrument with the ancient Israelites. Cf. also on v.

20. father of such as dwell in tents, &c.: following a similar occupation to Abel, but at a more advanced stage. We are not told that Abel or his parents had any tent or house, and Jabal's cattle would include oxen as well as sheep. It is a little difficult to understand how the fashion of keeping cattle and living in tents should only come into existence *after* the institution of cities in verse 17. 'Father of' = founder of the custom or art.

21. his brother's name. When the founders of two arts are said to be 'brothers,' it means that these arts arose in the same period and under the same circumstances; here, that music had its origin amongst the nomads.

harp: Heb. *kinnōr*, hence the Greek *kinura*, a stringed instrument, of which the shape and number of strings varied.

pipe: A. V. 'organ,' Heb. *'ugabh*. The nature of this instrument is uncertain. According to the LXX it was a stringed instrument; but it was more probably a wind instrument, flute, or mouth-organ, or bagpipe, according to various authorities. Here it might very well be a general term for wind instruments. Numerous pictures of wind and stringed instruments are shown on the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.

22. Tubal-cain. It is doubtful whether the LXX read 'cain' at all. If read, we should probably not take it as part of the name, but translate 'Tubal, a smith.'

the forger of every cutting instrument: R.V. marg. 'an instructor of every artificer.' Neither translation fairly represents the Hebrew, which here again is unintelligible. Doubtless the original author wrote, 'the father of all who do smith's work,' &c., and careless scribes copied it incorrectly.

brass: R. V. marg. 'copper.' Brass, copper alloyed with zinc, was unknown to the ancients; but they had copper, and

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[1] Baethgen, *Beiträge*, &c., 149.

[2] 'Cattle,' Heb. *miqneh*, includes both sheep and oxen.

iron: and the sister of Tubal-cain was Naamah. And 23
Lamech said unto his wives:

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech:
For I have slain a man for wounding me,
And a young man for bruising me:

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used bronze, copper with various alloys. Wandering clans or families of smiths are still found amongst the nomad Arabs.

Naamah: 'pleasant,' also found as the name of Rehoboam's mother, and of a city in Judah; almost the same as Naomi. In Phoenician the name occurs for the goddess Astarte[1]. The connexion of the smith Tubal with the pleasant or beautiful Naamah has been compared with that between Vulcan and Venus.

23, 24. These verses are a short poem, much older than the genealogy in which they stand. They are, no doubt, one of the oldest portions of the material out of which the Primitive Document was compiled, and indeed of extant Hebrew literature. Note the 'parallelism' which is the characteristic form of Hebrew poetry. There are six short lines, the second repeats in a slightly different form the sense of the first; the fourth that of the third; and the sixth expresses an idea corresponding to that of the fifth.

23. For I have slain a man for wounding me, And a young man for bruising me. According to the laws of Hebrew parallelism 'man' and 'young man' probably both refer to the same person, and the 'wounding' and 'bruising' to the same act; just as, in the previous couplet, 'Adah and Zillah' = 'Ye wives of Lamech,' and 'hear' = 'hearken.' This R.V. text would refer to a single experience of Lamech; the marg. 'I will slay,' or better 'I slay,' 'I am in the habit of slaying,' is quite as probable. The verse would then mean, 'If any one strikes me, I slay him.' The other marginal rendering (= A.V.):—

'I have slain a man to my wounding,
And a young man to my hurt,'

would mean that Lamech felt he had committed an act which would cause him suffering. This does not suit the context, and can only have been retained in the marg. in deference to the authority of the A.V. The poem expresses the proud confidence of the Bedouin chief that he will promptly and thoroughly avenge any wrong done to him. The connexion here suggests that the occasion of the song was the discovery of the art of working

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[1] Baethgen, *Beiträge*, &c., 150.

24 If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.
25 And Adam knew his wife again; and she bare a son,
and called his name Seth: For, *said she*, God hath
appointed me another seed instead of Abel; for Cain
26 slew him. And to Seth, to him also there was born
a son; and he called his name Enosh: then began men
to call upon the name of the LORD.

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metals by Tubal-cain. It is supposed that this art was used to forge metal weapons, and Lamech was confident because he was sure that he would be better armed than any of his neighbours; but probably the song had originally nothing to do with Tubal-cain. According to a grotesque Jewish legend the 'man' slain was Cain, and the 'young man' Tubal-cain.

24. Cf. verse 15.

iv. 25, 26. GENEALOGY OF THE SETHITES (J).

Adam, Seth, Enosh. The beginning of the worship of Yahweh.

(*a*) *Source.* These verses were included in the Primitive Document, but they may have been originally independent of the previous sections; see below.

25. Adam. The analogy of iv. 1 would lead us to expect 'the man,' *ha-Adam*; perhaps this was the original reading.

Seth . . . hath appointed. In Hebrew, *Sheth . . . shath.*

God. The various sections of ii. 4b—iv. 24 use Yahweh for the Divine name; but according to these verses Yahweh was not known till the time of Enosh, hence Eve uses 'God' instead. These differences of usage are an indication that the verses may not have been originally connected with the rest of these chapters.

26. he called his name. In the Primitive Document the name is usually given by the mother; cf. verse 1. The exception here is no doubt due to the fact that no mother is mentioned.

Enosh: properly a common noun meaning 'man,' almost synonymous with *adam*. The name probably comes from a tradition which spoke of the first man as *Enosh* and not *Adam*. The author of these versions has preserved both names by uniting them in a genealogy—a familiar method of gathering up miscellaneous fragments of tradition that none might be lost.

then began men to call upon the name of the LORD. The Hebrew text translated by the LXX and Vulgate had 'He,' i. e. Enosh. 'began to call on the name of Yahweh,' and this reading is accepted by many scholars. It would mean that Enosh insti-

[P] This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the 5

tuted the worship of Yahweh. According to Exod. iii. 14, vi. 2 the name Yahweh was first made known to Israel by Moses; cf. p. 22.

v. The Priestly Genealogy of the Human Race from Adam to Noah.

For purposes of comparison the analysis is supplemented by that of the other two genealogies in parallel columns. The numbers call attention to the correspondences in cases where the order is different.

iv. 1, 17–24.	iv. 25, 26.	v.
Adam	Adam	Adam
	Seth	Seth
	Enosh	Enosh
Cain		Kenan
(1) Enoch		(2) Mahalalel
Irad		Jared
(2) Mehujael		(1) Enoch
Methushael		Methuselah
Lamech		Lamech
		Noah
Jabal Jubal Tubal-cain.		Shem Ham Japheth.

v. 24. Enoch is translated.

v. 29. Etymology of the name Noah.

(*a*) *Source.* Verse 29 (which see) is from J, the rest of the chapter is from the Priestly Document (P). Note the Divine name, God (*Elohim*); the recurring formula[1], '—— lived —— years, and begat ——: and —— lived after he begat —— —— years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the days of —— were —— years, and he died'; and the heading, 'The book of the generations.' This chapter is the continuation of i. 1—ii. 4a, so that the Priestly Document contained no account of the Garden of Eden, or of the Fall, or of Cain and Abel. Note also the systematic chronology which is a characteristic of this document.

(*b*) *Relation to the other Genealogies.* The table given in the analysis shows that ch. v is another version of the genealogies in iv. The two chapters may either represent two different traditions or two theories based on the same tradition.

(*c*) *Significance of the Genealogies.* The presence of these

[1] Cf. pp. 37, 67.

day that God created man, in the likeness of God made

genealogies in the various documents was due, first of all, to the desire to preserve ancient and popular traditions hallowed by many sacred associations. Perhaps some of the genealogies were formed as aids to memory, as threads on which to hang a number of names of ancient worthies and stories concerning them, so that they might be held together and the more easily remembered. No doubt, too, the interest which the Israelites felt in their own genealogies moved them also to complete the chain of ancestors which connected them with the very beginnings of history. But in the Priestly Document the genealogies provide a scheme of chronology from the Creation to the Conquest of Canaan; and the succeeding books carry on the scheme till it is merged in the chronology of the great empires of the East.

(*d*) *The Chronology of the Priestly Document.* This chapter gives, amongst other statistics, the intervals between the birth of each patriarch and the birth of his eldest son. These intervals are continuous, and when added together give the interval between the Creation and the birth of Noah. Then the age of Noah at the time of the Flood is given, and thus we get the interval between the Creation and the Flood. The rest of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua furnish similar statistics, which determine the date of the death of Joshua. From this point we have the lengths of the rule of the judges, and of the intervals between them; then the lengths of the rule of Eli and Samuel, and of the reigns of the kings. In 2 Kings xxv. 27 this series of statistics is connected with the dates of the kings of Babylon, and thus fixes the time-relations of the events of Israelite history with the ascertained chronology of general history. Unfortunately there are gaps, and inconsistencies, and obvious errors in these sets of figures, partly due to the mistakes of copyists and editors. Hence the popular chronology of the O. T., which was based upon these data, is not trustworthy[1].

This chapter itself shows how uncertain are our data, and how little they help us to fix a definite chronology. We have mentioned in the Introduction[2] that there are three main authorities for our text; the figures given by them differ widely, so that the interval from the Creation to the Flood is 1656 years in the Massoretic MSS., 1307 years in the Samaritan MSS., and 2242 years in the LXX. The following table will show that the lengths of the lives are usually the same in all three; that the exceptions to this rule lead to the difference between 1656 of the Massorets

[1] Compare the article 'CHRONOLOGY' in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

[2] p. 41.

he him; male and female created he them; and blessed 2

and the 1307 of the Samaritans; but that the period from the birth of a patriarch to that of his eldest son is usually 100 years less in the Massoretic MSS. than in the LXX, while the rest of the life is 100 years more, so that the length of the whole life remains the same.

	Hebrew Massoretic MSS.			Hebrew Samaritan MSS.			LXX.		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
Adam	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
Seth	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
Enos	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
Cainan	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
Mahalalel	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
Jared	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
Enoch	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
Methuselah	187	782	969	67	653	720	167	802	969
Lamech	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
Noah	500		950	500		950	500		950
Further interval to the Flood	100			100			100		
	1656			1307			2242		

A. Age of patriarch at birth of first-born.
B. Length of rest of patriarch's life.
C. Length of whole life.

It is noteworthy that in the Massoretic and Samaritan MSS. Methuselah dies in the year of the Flood; in the Samaritan MSS. Jared and Lamech also die in the year of the Flood; and that in the LXX Methuselah survives the Flood by four years. Cf. below.

(*e*) *Original Source of the Names and Statistics.* We have seen that our chief authorities differ in their statistics, and also differ systematically, so that the variations cannot be altogether due to mistakes in copying. Each authority had its own theory of the chronology, possibly connected with ideas as to the length of the existence of the world, and the time of the final catastrophe—a subject much dealt with in the various apocalypses current when the different texts were formed. It has been pointed out that

them, and called their name Adam, in the day when they

according to the Hebrew MSS. the Exodus took place 2666 years after the Creation. As 2666 is two-thirds of 4000 this indicates a belief that the world would last 4000 years, and the statistics have no doubt been influenced by this view. Again, in the Samaritan text each patriarch lives fewer years than his predecessor —with three exceptions, two of which, Enoch and Noah, are special cases. This gradual diminution will be due to a theory that human vitality was at a maximum at the Creation. Further, the deaths of certain patriarchs in the year of the Flood is evidently due to careful calculation. These considerations, however, only partially account for the divergences, which must for the most part be left without explanation. We cannot be certain which authority agrees most closely with the figures given in the original copy of the Priestly Document, possibly—according to the present tendency of opinion—the Samaritan MSS. The fact that copyists and translators did not hesitate to modify these statistics according to their view of history shows that they regarded them as expressing a theory rather than as vouched for by absolute authority[1].

No doubt, however, both names and figures were originally derived from tradition. The presence of most of the names in the Primitive Document[2] partly proves this. Moreover, Berosus[3] begins his account of the Babylonian dynasties with a list of ten kings, *Alorus, Alaparus, Amelon, Ammenon, Megalarus, Daonus, Euedorachus, Amempsinus, Otiartes, and Xisuthrus.* He assigns to each of them an enormously long reign, so that the ten reigns together extend over a period of 432,000 years. In spite of the differences in the names many scholars hold that the ten Babylonian kings ending with Xisuthrus, the hero of the Deluge, are the origin of the ten patriarchs ending with Noah[3].

(*f*) *The Longevity of the Patriarchs.* The long lives of the patriarchs have often been felt to be a stumbling-block, which apologists have sought to remove by ingenious but futile theories. For instance, the names, Adam, &c., &c., have been supposed to represent tribes or dynasties, and not individuals; 'year' has been held to mean 'month,' &c., &c. These theories are worthless; the idea that men in primitive times lived very long lives is common to the traditions of many races, and was clearly held by the author of the Priestly Document. It is also clear that these figures have no historical value except as exemplifying Semitic theories of chronology.

1. generations. Cf. ii. 4.

[1] So Gunkel. [2] p. 22. [3] p. 68.
[4] Cf. commentary.

were created. And Adam lived an hundred and thirty 3
years, and begat *a son* in his own likeness, after his image;
and called his name Seth: and the days of Adam after 4
he begat Seth were eight hundred years: and he begat
sons and daughters. And all the days that Adam lived 5
were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died.

And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat 6
Enosh: and Seth lived after he begat Enosh eight hun- 7
dred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters:
and all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve 8
years: and he died.

And Enosh lived ninety years, and begat Kenan: and 9, 10
Enosh lived after he begat Kenan eight hundred and

1, 2. in the likeness, &c., &c. Cf. i. 26 ff.

2. called their name Adam. The R.V. marg., 'Man,' would suit this sentence better than 'Adam'; it would then mean that God named the race 'man.' The reference may be to i. 26, where God says, 'Let us make *man*,' and thus by implication names the new race He is about to create. The Priestly Document never mentions Adam's wife, but simply says that God created man in two sexes. But 'Man' in this phrase does not suit the succeeding verses in which '*adam* is the name of the first man. Possibly the original reading was 'called his name Adam.'

3. in his own likeness, &c.: passing on the likeness to God, verse 1. The Priestly Document ignores the Fall, and Cain and Abel.

called his name Seth. The father gives the name, as usually in this document, and necessarily so here, because this chapter entirely ignores wives.

6. Enosh. See on iv. 26. The third Babylonian king in Berosus's list is Amelon, which, like Enosh, means 'man,' so that there is a point of correspondence between the *third* king and the *third* patriarch.

9. Kenan: *Qenan*, a strengthened form of Cain, *Qayin*, cf. iv. 17, and quite a different name from that of the son of Ham and of the people *Kena'an*. The word occurs in Semitic inscriptions, and is found as the name of a Sabaean god. This *fourth* patriarch, because *Qenan* means 'smith,' has been connected[1] with the *fourth* Babylonian king *Ammenon* = 'artisan.'

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[1] Gunkel.

11 fifteen years, and begat sons and daughters: and all the
days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years: and
he died.
12 And Kenan lived seventy years, and begat Mahalalel:
13 and Kenan lived after he begat Mahalalel eight hundred
14 and forty years, and begat sons and daughters: and all
the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years:
and he died.
15 And Mahalalel lived sixty and five years, and begat
16 Jared: and Mahalalel lived after he begat Jared eight
hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters:
17 and all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred ninety
and five years: and he died.
18 And Jared lived an hundred sixty and two years, and
19 begat Enoch: and Jared lived after he begat Enoch

13. Mahalalel. *Mahalale'el*, in iv. 18, Mehujael, *Mekhuya'el*, or (according to another reading) *Mekhiyya'el*; the *fifth* patriarch. As Hebrew names Mahalalel has been explained as 'Praise of God' or 'Praised of God,' and Mehujael as 'Smitten of God,' &c.; but both may be corruptions of a Babylonian name *Amel-Aruru*, 'Aruru's Man,' who is represented by *Megalarus*, Berosus's *fifth* Babylonian king[1]. Mahalalel occurs in Neh. xi. 4 as a clan of Judah.

15. Jared: *Jered*; in iv. 18 Irad, *'Irad*; the *sixth* patriarch. Jered occurs in 1 Chron. iv. 18 as the name of a clan of Judah. According to the Samaritan Pentateuch Jared died in the year of the Flood; it is probably implied that he was among the sinners who were drowned. Possibly, however, this date for his death is a correction of statistics which, by an oversight, made him survive the Flood. The corrector would make Jared die in the year of the Flood in order to alter the traditional figures as little as possible; and may have thought of the patriarch as dying a natural death shortly before the catastrophe.

18. Enoch. Cf. iv. 17; the *seventh* patriarch. This name in its Hebrew form *Khanoch* might mean 'dedication,' and might be connected with the building of the first city, iv. 17; but probably both Enoch and Berosus's seventh king *Euedorachus* are corruptions of some Babylonian name. Numerous legends grew up in connexion

[1] Ball, *Genesis*, *SBOT*.

eight hundred years, and begat sons and daughters: and 20
all the days of Jared were nine hundred sixty and two
years: and he died.

And Enoch lived sixty and five years, and begat 21
Methuselah: and Enoch walked with God after he begat 22
Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and
daughters: and all the days of Enoch were three hun- 23
dred sixty and five years: and Enoch walked with God: 24
and he was not; for God took him.

And Methuselah lived an hundred eighty and seven 25

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with Enoch, and a whole cycle of apocalyptic literature—the *Book of Enoch*, &c.—was written in his name. A sentence from the *Book of Enoch* is quoted in Jude 14 as a prophecy of 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam.'

22. walked with God, instead of the simple 'lived' used of the other patriarchs, indicates a special piety on the part of Enoch. The LXX has 'pleased God.'

23. three hundred sixty and five years. The number points to some connexion between Enoch and the solar year. Perhaps the Babylonian original of Enoch was a sun-god or solar hero.

24. he was not; for God took him. LXX, 'he was not found, for God translated[1] him,' and so Heb. xi. 5: 'By faith Enoch was translated[1] that he should not see death: and he was not found, because God translated him: for before his translation he hath had witness borne to him that he had been well-pleasing unto God.' This interpretation of the LXX and *Hebrews* brings out what was intended by this verse. Similarly Yahweh took Elijah, and he was not found[2]. It has been pointed out that had the verse simply stated that Enoch only lived 365 years, the natural deduction according to current Jewish theology would have been that he was an exceptionally wicked man. The additional details guard against this misconception.

25. Methuselah. Cf. Methushael, iv. 18; the *eighth* patriarch. These names, together with *Amempsinus*, Berosus's *eighth* Babylonian king, are explained as equivalent to the Babylonian name *Amel-Sin*, 'Man of Sin,' the moon-god. In the Massoretic MSS. and in the LXX Methuselah lives 969 years, a longer life than that of any other patriarch; but in the Samaritan MSS. he only lives 720 years, a shorter time than all the others with the exception of

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[1] Μετέθηκεν. [2] 2 Kings ii. 1, 17.

26 years, and begat Lamech: and Methuselah lived after he
begat Lamech seven hundred eighty and two years, and
27 begat sons and daughters: and all the days of Methuselah
were nine hundred sixty and nine years: and he died.
28 And Lamech lived an hundred eighty and two years,
29 and begat a son: [J] and he called his name Noah, say-
ing, This same shall comfort us for our work and for the
toil of our hands, because of the ground which the LORD
30 hath cursed. [P] And Lamech lived after he begat Noah
five hundred ninety and five years, and begat sons and
31 daughters: and all the days of Lamech were seven hun-
dred seventy and seven years: and he died.
32 And Noah was five hundred years old: and Noah be-
gat Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

Enoch and Lamech. According to the Massoretic and Samaritan MSS. Methuselah died in the year of the Flood, so that the Massoretic text contains the dramatic suggestion that the man who lived longest was at last drowned with his fellow sinners; but cf. on *Jared*, verse 15. According to the LXX, Methuselah survived the Flood, which is clearly an oversight.

Lamech. Cf. iv. 19. The *ninth* patriarch. No probable connexion between this name and *Otiartes*, the *ninth* Babylonian king, has been discovered. In the Samaritan MSS. Lamech dies in the year of the Flood; cf. on *Jared*, verse 15.

29. Noah. The *tenth* patriarch. The *tenth* Babylonian king, *Xisuthrus*, is also the hero of the Flood. No satisfactory account has yet been given of the origin of the name.

This same shall comfort us, &c. This explanation of the name is from the Primitive Document; it contains the name Yahweh, and refers back to the story of the Fall, iii. 17–19. 'To comfort' is *nahem*, and these words are suggested by the superficial resemblance to Noah; they are not a real etymology.

because of the ground: R.V. marg., '*which cometh* from the ground.'

32. Shem, Ham, and Japheth. This genealogy, like that in iv. 17–24, ends in a set of three brothers. Whether the three names originally denoted peoples or traditional heroes is uncertain. Ham (*Kham*) is sometimes explained as equivalent to *Khem*, an ancient name of Egypt, or as meaning 'hot,' and denoting the peoples of the hot south. Cf. on ix. 24–27 and x.

[J] And it came to pass, when men began to multiply 6
on the face of the ground, and daughters were born unto
them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men 2
that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that
they chose. And the LORD said, My spirit shall not 3
strive with man for ever, for that he also is flesh: yet

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vi. 1–4. *The Marriages of the Angels* (J). Certain angels marry women, and of these unions were born the ancient heroes.

(*a*) *Source.* This section was taken from the Primitive Document, whose editor seems to have placed it at this point of his narrative as an example of the wickedness which led to the Flood. But it is a fragment of an independent tradition, which had no original connexion with the stories of the Fall and the Flood.

2. sons of God. The regular O. T. phrase for supernatural beings, which would include angels and demons; 'sons of' means 'belonging to the class of.' Various other explanations, all quite impossible, have been devised in order to avoid the theological difficulties arising out of the idea of marriage between angels and women. For instance, it has been suggested that 'the sons of God' were the pious Sethites, and 'the daughters of men' the wicked descendants of Cain.

Classical mythology is full of stories of marriages between gods or demi-gods and mortals.

This section is the origin of numerous legends as to the Fall of the Angels, cf. 2 Pet. ii. 4 f., Jude 6 f.; but there is no reference to any punishment of the 'sons of God' in this fragment of the ancient tradition.

3, 4. These verses are extremely obscure; verse 3 has no obvious connexion with the context, and may be an addition. The obscurity probably arises from the mutilation and modification of the original story.

3. My spirit shall not strive with man for ever. This rendering suggests that God was continually attempting to keep man in the ways of righteousness, and that man was continually resisting. The meaning of the word translated 'strive' is quite uncertain. Many ancient versions have 'abide in,' and R. V. marg. also suggests another alternative, 'rule in.' In any case the verse seems to imply that but for the special intervention of Yahweh men would have lived for ever. We might get a connexion with the previous verses by supposing that the 'man' referred to here means the offspring of these marriages, who would have been immortal, like the 'sons of God,' if Yahweh had not interfered.

for that he also is flesh: a meaningless truism, which cannot fairly represent anything that stood in the original story. Here

4 shall his days be an hundred and twenty years. The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same were the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown.

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again the meaning of our present Hebrew text is quite uncertain. The R. V. marg., 'in their going astray they are flesh,' is also obscure. It would seem to mean that in moral matters men were poor weak creatures. Or it might mean that they had become flesh, and lost their higher, divine nature, or perhaps their immortality, by going astray. Perhaps the present Hebrew text has arisen out of mistakes in copying.

yet shall his days: a concession; he might have been cut off at once. The R. V. marg., 'therefore,' implies that but for this intervention man would have lived much more than 120 years.

be an hundred and twenty years. This may mean that henceforward human life should be limited to 120 years, as distinguished either (*a*) from the patriarchs of ch. v who lived hundreds of years, or (*b*) from the immortality which men might have enjoyed; cf. above. If the view (*a*) be taken, the verse is a very late addition either by the Priestly writer or one of his followers. But the verse has also been taken to mean that the human race would only be allowed to exist for another 120 years. If so, the reference would probably be to the coming Flood, and it would again seem that the verse did not belong to the original story.

4. Nephilim: R. V. marg., 'giants.' The *Nephilim* are only mentioned once again, Num. xiii. 33: 'And there,' in Palestine, 'we,' the twelve spies, 'saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak which come of the Nephilim: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers.' If we render 'Nephilim,' the word may be the name of some ancient race who were supposed to be descended from these marriages—a view which ignored the Flood. But according to R. V. marg. the word is simply a rare term for giants.

were in the earth in those days. Perhaps we might render 'arose in the earth,' i. e. the Nephilim were the offspring of these marriages. At any rate, that must have been the meaning of the story in its original form.

and also after that. These words come in very awkwardly; such parentheses are unusual in classical Hebrew. Hence the clause is probably a note added by some one who wished to guard against the apparent contradiction of Num. xiii. 33.

the mighty men . . . the men of renown. The heroes of ancient story, corresponding to the Greek demi-gods. Possibly the tradition of which these verses are a fragment proceeded to tell the story of these heroes.

And the LORD saw that the wickedness of man was great 5

vi. 5—ix. 17. THE FLOOD. (A narrative in which J and P are combined.)

Primitive Document (J).	Priestly Document (P).
vi. 5–8. The moral corruption of the world. Yahweh purposes to destroy it. Noah's righteousness.	vi. 9–13. Noah's righteousness. The moral corruption of the world. God purposes to destroy it.
vii. 1–5. Yahweh bids Noah gather into the ark his family, and two of each kind of unclean animal and seven of each kind of clean animal. Noah obeys.	vi. 14–22. God bids Noah build an ark of certain dimensions, and to gather into it his family and two of each kind of living creature; and to store the ark with provisions. Noah obeys.
vii. 7 (?). Noah and his family enter the ark. vii. 10. The Flood begins. 12, 16b, 17. Rain for forty days. Yahweh shuts Noah in.	vii. 6–9, 13–16a[1]. Noah, his family, and the animals enter the ark. vii. 11. The Flood begins. vii. 24[1]. The waters prevail for a hundred and fifty days.
vii. 22, 23. All living creatures are drowned except those in the ark.	vii. 18–21. The Flood increases, and all living creatures are drowned, except those in the ark.
viii. 2b, 3a, 6a. At the end of the forty days (vii. 17) the Flood ceases to increase.	viii. 1, 2a, 3b–4. At the end of the 150 days (vii. 24), on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, the Flood ceases to increase, and the ark rests on the mountains of Ararat.
viii. 6b–9. Noah sends forth a raven which does not return; [he waits seven days[2]] and sends out a dove, which returns because the earth is still covered with water.	viii. 5. The waters decrease till the first day of the tenth month, when the tops of the mountains are seen.

[1] These passages have been slightly displaced in order to facilitate the comparison of the two accounts.

[2] See note on this verse.

in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts

Primitive Document (J).	Priestly Document (P).
viii. 10, 11. After another seven days he sends out the dove again; she returns with an olive leaf, and he knows that the waters have abated.	viii. 13*a*. On the first day of the first month of the next year the waters had disappeared.
viii. 12, 13*b*. After another seven days he again sends out the dove; when she does not return he removes the covering of the ark and sees that the ground is dry.	viii. 14. On the twenty-seventh day of the second month the earth was dry.
	viii. 15–19. At God's bidding Noah leaves the ark with his family and the animals.
	ix. 1–7. God blesses Noah and his sons, and permits them to eat animal food, but without the blood. God ordains the punishment of death for murder.
viii. 20–22. Noah builds an altar and sacrifices to Yahweh, who promises that He will not again destroy all living beings, or interrupt the regular course of the seasons.	ix. 8–17. God makes a covenant with Noah and his descendants that He will not again destroy all living beings by a Flood. He makes the rainbow the pledge of this covenant.

(*a*) *Sources.* Up to this point the editor has given us complete sections from either the Primitive or the Priestly Document; but now he adopts a new method, and weaves together alternate paragraphs and sentences from these two documents into a continuous narrative[1]. Of the two stories of the Flood which have been thus combined, one connects with the other sections of the Priestly Document by its use of the Divine Name Elohim and other characteristic terms, by its chronology and its fondness for statistics generally, and by its reference to the making of man in the image of God[2]. The other version of the story connects with the Primitive Document by its use of the Divine Name Yahweh and other characteristic terms; by its anthropomorphism—Yahweh shuts Noah in[3]—and its picturesque details, for instance, the sending out of the raven and the dove.

[1] Cf. p. 11. [2] Gen. ix. 6. [3] Gen. vii. 16.

of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented 6

(*b*) *Comparison of the two Narratives.* A glance at the parallel columns of the analysis will show that the main lines of the two stories are the same. We have already seen that they illustrate the characteristic differences of the two documents. We may also note the following: in J, there are taken into the ark seven pairs of each kind of clean animals, and one pair of unclean; in P, one pair of each[1]. In J, the Flood is caused by rain; in P, by a cosmic convulsion[2]. In J, the period from the announcement of the Flood to the departure from the ark is $7+40+3\times7=68$ days[3]; in P, the Flood lasts for 365 days, i. e. a solar year[4]. In J, Noah offers a sacrifice; in P, God makes a covenant with him.

(*c*) *The Babylonian Flood Story.* The Babylonian story of the Flood is known to us from Berosus and from cuneiform tablets; and, as in the case of the Creation, the Biblical narrative is another version of the same story. Leaving details for the commentary, the general facts are as follows. The story in the tablets is an episode in the Babylonian epic of Izdudar. This hero visits his ancestor Tsitnapishtim in the abode of the gods, and asks him how he came thither. Tsitnapishtim relates the story of the Flood. In Berosus the hero of the Flood is the tenth Babylonian king Xisuthrus. In all three accounts the hero is divinely warned of the coming Flood, told to build a vessel, and to go into it with his family and the animals. He does so; the Flood comes, and all not in the ark are drowned. The ship grounds on a mountain. Certain birds are sent out; the hero leaves the ship, and offers sacrifice. Then in Berosus and the tablets the hero is taken to dwell with the gods. These two versions, especially that of the tablets, are polytheistic; and the tablets describe the discussions and the dissensions of the various gods over the fate of man. Here, too, a pilot is an important character. To a large extent the details of each of the two Biblical stories of the Flood are to be found in the cuneiform account; on some points both P and J agree with the tablets; sometimes P agrees, and J ignores or differs; and sometimes vice versa. As in the case of the Creation narrative, the Biblical accounts represent forms given to ancient Semitic tradition by a long course of transmission amongst the Israelites; but on some points the resemblances are so close that it seems as if both[5] authors had revised the Israelite tradition with the help of information derived from Babylonian sources.

Flood stories are found in the folklore of many ancient peoples,

[1] Gen. vii. 2, but cf. note on that verse, vi. 19.
[2] Gen. vii. 11, 12, 17; cf. notes.
[3] Cf. notes on vii. 4, 10, 12, viii. 10, 12.
[4] Cf. notes on vii. 11, 24, viii. 3, 13 f.
[5] P and J.

the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it
7 grieved him at his heart. And the LORD said, I will
destroy man whom I have created from the face of the
ground; both man, and beast, and creeping thing, and
fowl of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made
8 them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the LORD.

9 [P] These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a
righteous man, *and* perfect in his generations: Noah
10 walked with God. And Noah begat three sons, Shem,
11 Ham, and Japheth. And the earth was corrupt before

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and may have originated in exceptionally disastrous inundations. At any rate, the form of the legends has been partly determined by men's experience of actual floods. Thus the Biblical narrative may have been originally a reminiscence of a terrible deluge in the plains of the Euphrates and the Tigris; and the various versions of the story have been shaped by the circumstances of floods in Palestine and Babylonia.

vi. 5–8. Primitive Document. *The corruption of the world.*

5. the LORD saw that the wickedness of man was great. The Babylonian account in no way emphasizes the idea that the Flood was sent because of the corruption of the race; but it seems to imply that it was the punishment of sin.

6. it repented the LORD. Another example of our author's speaking of Yahweh as one would of a man. The changes of God's dealings suggest to men changes in His purposes; and the author records the impressions of God which Israelites in early times derived from their experience of life.

7. destroy: blot out.

8. found grace. 'Grace' here carries with it none of the theological ideas connected with the word in the N.T. and in Christian theology. 'Found grace' simply means 'found favour.'

vi. 9-13. The Priestly Document. *The corruption of the world.*

9. the generations of Noah. The heading of a new section. Cf. ii. 4, v. 1.

righteous . . . perfect (marg., 'blameless') **. . . walked with God.** The threefold description emphasizes Noah's goodness. 'Walked with God,' as Enoch (v. 24). The righteousness of the hero of the Flood is not emphasized in the Babylonian story, though it is referred to by Berosus.

10. Repeats v. 32[b].

11. corrupt before God, in His sight and judgement.

God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God 12
saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh
had corrupted his way upon the earth.

And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come 13
before me; for the earth is filled with violence through
them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth.
Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou 14
make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without
with pitch. And this is how thou shalt make it: the 15
length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it

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12. all flesh had corrupted his way. 'All flesh' may be 'all mankind,' or, less probably, all living creatures.

13. The end of all flesh is come before me. God had determined to make an end of 'all flesh.'

In the tablets the Flood is caused by Bel, whilst another god, Ea, warns Tsitnapishtim of the coming catastrophe in a dream, and directs him to build a ship.

vi. 14–22. Priestly Document. *Directions about the ark.*

14. ark: Heb. *tebah*. The same word is used for the ark in which Moses was placed in the Nile; *tebah* does not occur elsewhere, the word for the sacred ark of the tabernacle and temple is *'aron*.

gopher wood. 'Gopher,' only found here, is a Hebrew word written in English letters. Its meaning is unknown; various woods more or less suitable for shipbuilding have been suggested, e. g. cedar, fir; also cypress (Greek, *kuparissos*), a word similar to 'gopher,' and sometimes supposed to be derived from it. Perhaps the unfamiliar *gopher* is a scribe's error, due to the proximity of the similar word *kopher* for 'pitch.' The resemblance of *gopher* to another Hebrew word *gophrith*, 'brimstone,' does not throw any light on the matter.

rooms: Heb. 'nests'; i. e. places for the men and animals; only in this sense here. This and other unusual and obscure expressions are probably derived from old versions of the story (cf. next note), and may sometimes be due to misunderstanding of obsolete or foreign words.

pitch, or rather 'bitumen,' a kind of mineral pitch. The word *kopher* only occurs in Hebrew in this verse, and is a reminiscence of the Babylonian story, where a quantity of bitumen (*ku-up-ri*) is poured over the ship.

15. length . . . three hundred cubits, . . . breadth . . . fifty cubits, . . . height . . . thirty cubits. The length of the cubit

16 fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A light
shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou
finish it upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set
in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories
17 shalt thou make it. And I, behold, I do bring the flood

varied at different times and places from about 17½ in. to about 21½ in. or even more. It is not known what cubit is intended here. If we reckon the cubit at 1½ ft., the dimensions are 450 × 75 × 45 ft. The dimensions of the new White Star liner *Arabic* are 600 × 65 × 44 ft., and of the new British battleship *King Edward VII* (16,350 tons) 425 × 78 × 43 ft. 4 ins. The corresponding passage in the tablets is a little obscure, but is read[1] as giving the height 120 cubits, and the breadth 120 cubits. In Berosus the ship is 5 stadia, about 3,030 ft., long, and 2 stadia, about 1,212 ft., broad.

16. A light. The Hebrew word *zohar* is only found here, and its meaning is uncertain. The root has the sense of 'light' in post-Biblical Hebrew. In the O. T. the dual form *zohorayim* means 'noon-day,' and *zohar* is sometimes translated 'light,' i. e. 'window,' or opening for light. The R. V. marg. rendering 'roof' is suggested by the meaning of similar words in languages of the same group (Semitic) as Hebrew. In the Babylonian there is a window in the ship.

to a cubit shalt thou finish it upward: R. V. marg., 'from above.' This obscure clause fairly represents an unintelligible piece of Hebrew. Whether 'it' is the 'light' or 'window' or 'roof,' of the ark is uncertain, nor is it clear how the cubit comes in. A window a cubit square would be absurd, but it might be a cubit high, or a cubit from the top of the ark. Perhaps the following[2] is as probable a view as any: 'Nothing prevents us from thinking of the opening for light, one cubit in size or in height, as running round the four sides, at the top, naturally interrupted by the beams or posts supporting the roof, which thus formed, so to speak, a continuous series of *zohar*.'

17. flood. The Hebrew word *mabbul* is only used of Noah's flood, and only occurs in Gen. ix–xi (in both documents) and in Psalm xxix. 10. The origin and etymology of *mabbul* are unknown.

the flood of waters upon the earth: better, 'the flood, waters upon the earth.' 'The flood' because, when the story was told in ancient Israel, Noah's flood was a well-known theme; 'waters upon the earth,' an explanation by the late Priestly author of an archaic word.

[1] Gunkel. [2] Dillmann on this verse.

of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall die. But I will establish my cove- 18
nant with thee; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort 19
shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. Of the fowl after 20
their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take 21
thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them. Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded 22
him, so did he.

[J] And the LORD said unto Noah, Come thou and all 7

18. covenant. In such passages as these a covenant is not, as elsewhere, a compact between two parties, but a declarative act on the part of God, 'a divine constitution or ordinance with signs or pledges[1].'

19. two of every sort. In the Primitive Document there are to be seven, or seven pairs, of the clean animals, and two of the unclean, vii. 2. According to the Priestly writer the distinction between clean and unclean animals was part of the revelation made to Moses, and therefore could not be known to Noah.

male and female. The Hebrew for this phrase is different in the two documents.

22. In the tablets Tsitnapishtim takes into the ship not only his family and the animals, but also slaves and artisans. Details are given as to the provisions taken on board, and we are told that Tsitnapishtim took with him his silver and gold and the rest of his property. Naturally nothing is said of fishes in any of the accounts.

vii. 1–5. Primitive Document. *Directions as to the ark.*

1. Come . . . into the ark. The account given by this document of the building of the ark has been omitted, probably because it would have added nothing to vi. 15–22.

[1] Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon.*

thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous be-
2 fore me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt
take to thee seven and seven, the male and his female;
and of the beasts that are not clean two, the male and his
3 female; of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, male

2, 3. Cf. vi. 19, 20.

2. clean . . . not clean. Lists of the clean and unclean animals are given in Lev. xi and Deut. xiv. 3–20. The clean are defined as the beasts that part the hoof, and are clovenfooted, and chew the cud, and the fishes that have fins and scales[1]. The other beasts and fishes are unclean. No criterion of cleanness is given for birds, but the unclean sorts—mostly birds of prey—are enumerated. In Deut. xiv. 19 *all* winged creeping things are unclean, but in Lev. xi. 20–23 only winged creeping things that go on all fours are unclean, and various sorts of locusts are mentioned as clean and legitimate food. W. Robertson Smith[2] considered that the laws of uncleanness were survivals of an earlier form of faith and of society, and were 'parallel to the taboos which totemism lays on the use of sacred animals as food.' Probably, however, the laws as we find them in the Pentateuch have been partly shaped by considerations of what is healthy and seemly. Cleanness and uncleanness is not referred to in the tablets.

Of every clean beast . . . seven and seven, the male and his female. This is variously interpreted to mean seven pairs or seven individuals. If seven individuals are meant the idea may be three pairs and a solitary male for sacrifice; but 'seven' may be used as the sacred number, cf. verse 9.

3. fowl . . . of the air: without distinction of clean and unclean, taking the text literally as it stands. Possibly the provision as to the beasts was meant to be taken for granted here also. The 'seven and seven' cannot imply that only clean birds were taken, because the raven was unclean[3]. The LXX, however, inserts after 'female,' 'and of the fowl that are not clean two and two, male and female.' These words may very well have stood in the original Hebrew, and have been accidentally omitted through confusion between the two 'females.' The scribe had written as far as the *first* 'female,' was interrupted, and on resuming saw that the last word he had written was 'female,' and supposed it to have been the second 'female.' Hence he began again at 'to keep seed,' &c., thus omitting the words supplied by the LXX. This kind of error has led to many omissions in manuscripts of

[1] Lev. xi. 3, 9; Deut. xiv. 6, 9.
[2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 448 f.
[3] Gen. viii. 7; Lev. xi. 15; Deut. xiv. 14.

and female: to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain 4
upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the ground. And Noah did according unto all 5
that the LORD commanded him.

[P] And Noah was six hundred years old when the 6
flood of waters was upon the earth. And Noah went in, 7
and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. Of clean 8
beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the ground, there went 9
in two and two unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as God commanded Noah. [J] And it came to pass after 10

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the N. T., and is known by the technical term 'homoeoteleuton,' or an omission due to 'similar endings.'

to keep seed alive: to provide for the continuance by propagation of the various kinds of animals, &c.

4. For yet seven days. In the tablets, Shamash, the sun-god, appoints a time, length not specified.

I will cause it to rain. Cf. verse 11. In the tablets also the Flood is caused by rain.

forty days and forty nights. In the tablets the rain lasts 'six days and (six!) nights.'

destroy: Heb. 'blot out,' as in vi. 7.

vii. 6–9. Priestly Document. *Noah, &c., go on board.*

6–9. There are additions in these verses that have been made by the editor, thus anticipating verses 13–17; see especially on verse 8. Verse 7 is perhaps partly J.

6. Noah was six hundred years old. This statement fixes the date of the Flood in the Priestly system of chronology set forth in ch. v, xi, &c. Cf. p. 126.

8, 9. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, . . . there went in two and two. These words are not from the original Priestly writer, who held that the distinction between clean and unclean was unknown in the time of Noah, cf. verses 2 f.; but from an editor or scribe who noticed the contradiction between vi. 19 f. and vii. 2 f.; and inserted a note to make it quite clear that the view taken by vi. 19 f. was the correct one.

the seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon
11 the earth. [P] In the six hundredth year of Noah's life,
in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the
month, on the same day were all the fountains of the
great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were
12 opened. [J] And the rain was upon the earth forty days
13 and forty nights. [P] In the selfsame day entered Noah,

vii. 10. Primitive Document. *The Flood begins.*

10. the seven days. Cf. vii. 4.

vii. 11. Priestly Document. *The Flood begins.*

11. the six hundredth year of Noah's life . . . the second month . . . the seventeenth day. These exact chronological details are characteristic of the Priestly writer. He probably assumed that time was reckoned from the Creation, i. e. that the first day of Creation was the first day of the first month of the first year. In the same way he seems to take for granted that each year of Noah's life coincided with a calendar year, so that Noah was born on a New Year's Day. Otherwise we cannot get the exact definition of time which our author evidently intends to give us.

second month. There are in the O. T. two modes of reckoning, according to one of which the year began about April, and according to the other about October. It is doubtful which is intended here. If the year began in October the second month would be November, the beginning of the rainy season, and the 150 days during which the Flood increased would about bring us to the end of the rainy season in March. If the year began in April the second month would be May, the season of the great inundations of the Babylonian plain. A late version of the Babylonian story makes the Flood begin at this time; the tablets give no date.

the seventeenth day: probably a date on which the rain or the inundation was supposed to begin. The late version referred to above makes the Flood begin on the *fifteenth*. Here and in viii. 4 the LXX has 'twenty-seventh,' as the Hebrew has in viii. 14.

were . . . the fountains of the great deep broken up. 'The great deep' is the *tehom* of i. 2. The Flood in this document is not caused by ordinary rain, but the work of the second day of Creation, by which the waters of the deep were separated from those of heaven, is undone; and outside of the ark primaeval chaos is restored. Cf. Prov. viii. 28.

windows of heaven. Cf. 2 Kings vii. 2, 19; Mal. iii. 10.

vii. 12. Primitive Document. *Rain for forty days.* Cf. verse 4.

and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; they, and every beast after its kind, and all 14 the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every sort. And they went 15 in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, 16 went in male and female of all flesh, as God commanded him: [J] and the LORD shut him in. And the flood was 17 forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth.

[P] And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly 18 upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the 19 earth; and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did 20

vii. 13–16[a][1]. Priestly Document. *Noah, &c., enter the ark.*

These verses are the original account given by the Priestly writer of the entry into the ark; they have been anticipated by verses 7–9, an insertion by an editor.

14. Every bird of every sort: Heb. 'wing.' These words are not found in the LXX, and may be an addition intended to explain the preceding 'every fowl'; or we might translate 'every bird, every winged creature,' including insects.

vii. 16[b][2], 17. Primitive Document. *Noah shut in; the Flood increases.*

16. the LORD shut him in. Another anthropomorphic touch; in the tablets Tsitnapishtim shuts the door.

17. forty days: the same forty days as in verse 12.

the waters increased, through the continuous rain.

vii. 18–21. Priestly Document. *The devastation wrought by the Flood.*

18. prevailed here and in verses 19, 20, 24 describes the successive stages by which the Flood increased.

20. Fifteen cubits, &c. The previous verse states that all the

[1] As far as 'commanded him.' [2] From 'and the LORD.'

the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered.
21 And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both fowl,
and cattle, and beast, and every creeping thing that
22 creepeth upon the earth, and every man: [J] all in
whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all
23 that was in the dry land, died. And every living thing
was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground,
both man, and cattle, and creeping thing, and fowl of the
heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and
Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the
24 ark. [P] And the waters prevailed upon the earth an
hundred and fifty days.

8 And God remembered Noah, and every living thing,

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high mountains were covered, so that this verse must mean that after the Flood reached the level of the tops of the highest mountains the water continued to rise for fifteen cubits, 'and the mountains were covered' to that extent. Cf. on viii. 3, 4.

21. In the tablets Tsitnapishtim looks out when the storm ceases, and sees that all mankind have become mud.

creeping thing that creepeth: R. V. marg., 'swarming thing that swarmeth.'

vii. 22, 23. Primitive Document. *The devastation wrought by the Flood.*

22. the breath of the spirit of life. Owing to some mistake in copying we have here a blending of two synonymous phrases, 'breath of life,' as in ii. 7, vii. 15, and 'spirit of life.'

23. every living thing was destroyed: R. V. marg., 'he destroyed every living thing.'

destroyed: Heb. 'blotted out.'

vii. 24—viii. 2[1]. Priestly Document *Cessation of the Flood.*

24. an hundred and fifty days. Cf. viii. 3^b, 4^a.

1. God remembered Noah, &c. Perhaps rather 'thought of'; the phrase need not imply that God had forgotten Noah. Note that the animals are included in God's kindly thought.

2^a. Cf. vii. 11^b.

viii. 2^b, 3^a[2]. Primitive Document. *Cessation of the Flood.*

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[1] As far as 'were stopped.'

[2] From 'and the rain' to 'continually.'

and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged; the fountains also of the deep and the windows 2
of heaven were stopped, [J] and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the 3
earth continually: [P] and after the end of an hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. And the ark rested 4
in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters 5

3. returned from off the earth continually: i. e. there was a continuous diminution in the amount and depth of the water.

viii. 3^{b}–5^{1}. Priestly Document. *The drying up of the Flood.*

3. an hundred and fifty days. Cf. vii. 24.

4. seventh month, . . . seventeenth day. Just five months after the beginning of the Flood, the five months being the same period as the 150 days. It is not certain how the months are reckoned, whether (*a*) five of thirty days each; or whether (*b*) 150 is a round number for the 146 or 147 days in five lunar months; or whether (*c*) the 150 days and the five months were taken originally from different sources, and represent slightly different views as to the length of the same period.

Here and in vii. 11 the LXX has 'twenty-seventh day,' as the Hebrew has in verse 14.

rested . . . upon the mountains. The idea seems to be that the ark, which was thirty cubits high[2], was immersed to half its depth, fifteen cubits; and that at the moment when the Flood reached its highest level, fifteen cubits above the summit of the highest mountain[3], the ark was floating just above that summit, so that the very moment the water began to fall the ark grounded[4]. This interest in exact chronology is characteristic of the Priestly Document.

Ararat[5], roughly corresponds to Armenia, and is the district about Lake Van referred to in Assyrian inscriptions as Urartu. The particular peak is often identified with the highest mountain in or near Urartu, the ancient *Massis*, the modern *Agridagh*, often known as Mount Ararat. The intention of the writer is evidently

[1] From 'and after the end.'
[2] vi. 15.
[3] vii. 20.
[4] Cf. Dillmann and Gunkel.
[5] Elsewhere in O. T. only: 2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38; Jer. li. 27.

decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the
6 tops of the mountains seen. [J] And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of
7 the ark which he had made: and he sent forth a raven,

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to select the highest mountain, and, with the exception of Mount Elburz, Mount Massis was the highest with which he was likely to be acquainted. He may not have known exactly their relative heights; and even if, as is sometimes asserted, Mount Massis was not in, but only near, Urartu, his knowledge of foreign geography would not be very accurate. Mount Massis is 17,000 ft. high. There are obvious physical difficulties, which we need not discuss, as our author was evidently quite unconscious of them.

Ararat is also identified with Corduene[1], a district on the left bank of the Upper Tigris.

In the tablets the ship is stopped by the mountain Nisir, sometimes identified with Elburz, in Media, south of the Caspian, and even supposed to be indicated here by 'mountains of Ararat[2].' In that case Ararat would have a different meaning here to that which it bears in the rest of the O. T.

5. tenth month, . . . first day: about two months and a half after the ark grounded on Ararat.

were the tops of the mountains seen. Apparently Ararat is thought of as towering to some height immensely above all other mountains.

viii. 6–12. Primitive Document. *The raven and the dove.*

In the tablets first a dove and then a swallow are sent out, both of these return because there is no resting place for them: lastly a raven is sent out and does not return, whereupon the animals and men leave the ark.

6. forty days: the period of the rain mentioned in vii. 12.

window. The Hebrew word used here is the ordinary word for 'window,' and is different from the original of 'light' in the Priestly Document, vi. 16.

7. sent forth a raven: as in the case of the dove in the next verse, 'to see if the waters were abated.' Probably the ark is thought of as stranded on the top of a mountain peak, with the window in the roof, so that Noah could see nothing but the sky.

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[1] In the Targums, or Jewish, and the Peshitto, or Christian, Aramaic translations of the O. T., both belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era.

[2] Tiele and Kosters, 'ARARAT,' *Encyclopaedia Biblica.*

and it went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. And he sent forth a 8
dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground; but the dove found no rest 9
for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought her in unto him into the ark. And he stayed yet other 10
seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him at eventide; and, lo, 11
in her mouth an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he 12
stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; and she returned not again unto him any more. [P] And 13
it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the

The raven was expected to bring back some token of the state of the ground, like the olive leaf of verse 11.

went . . . to and fro: perching and feeding on the floating carrion.

8. The mention of 'other seven days' in verse 10 implies a previous seven days of waiting. Of these nothing is said in our present text; but perhaps the copyists have accidentally omitted a statement that after sending out the raven Noah waited seven days before sending out the dove, as he waited seven days between the two sendings of the dove. Or the lost clause may have referred to a delay of seven days between the cessation of the rain and the sending out of the birds. Thus in the tablets the birds are sent forth on the seventh day after the stranding of the ark, but no further mention is made of intervals of time.

10. Cf. above on verse 8.

11. an olive leaf pluckt off: R. V. marg., 'a fresh olive leaf.'

Noah knew that the waters were abated. The olive tree does not grow at great heights, so that it was evident that the water had fallen very considerably from its highest level above the top of Ararat. We are told on the authority of classical naturalists that the olive tree puts forth green shoots under water.

viii. 13a[1]. Priestly Document. *The waters dry up.*

13. six hundred and first year, . . . first month, . . . first

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[1] As far as 'the earth,'

first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: [J] and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of
14 the ground was dried. [P] And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dry.
15,16 And God spake unto Noah, saying, Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons'
17 wives with thee. Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee of all flesh, both fowl, and cattle, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth;

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day. Two months after the tops of the mountains were seen, verse 5; cf. on verse 14.

viii. 13[b][1]. Primitive Document. *The waters dry up.*

the covering. This was probably described in the Primitive account of the building of the ark, which the editor has omitted.

viii. 14–19. Priestly Document. *Noah, &c., leave the ark.*

14. second month, . . . seven and twentieth day: a month and twenty-six days after 'the waters were dried up from off the earth,' verse 13. We are now told that 'the earth was dry.' The Hebrew words for 'dried up' and 'dry' are different. The meaning of the writer seems to be that on New Year's Day (verse 13) the water had disappeared, leaving behind it a mass of mud, which had dried into solid earth by the twenty-seventh day of the second month.

Thus according to the LXX of vii. 11, which dates the beginning of the Flood on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the previous year, the Flood occupied exactly a year. But according to the Hebrew it occupied a year and ten days. This is sometimes explained by supposing that the *year* in the latter case was a *lunar year*, i. e. about 354 days, and that the extra ten days, making about 364 days, were intended to indicate that the period was a solar year. But it is possible that statistics representing different views of the duration of the Flood have been combined; or that the original Priestly writer held one view and the editor another, and that the editor has corrected some statements and not others. Cf. on vii. 11, and viii. 4.

17. creeping thing that creepeth . . . be fruitful, and

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[1] From 'and Noah.'

that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went 18
forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him: every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, 19
whatsoever moveth upon the earth, after their families, went forth out of the ark. [J] And Noah builded an 20
altar unto the LORD; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the LORD smelled the sweet savour; and the 21

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multiply: characteristic terms of the Priestly Document; cf. i. 22, 24 ff., 28.

19. after their families: another characteristic phrase of this writer, commonly used of the clans of Israel, &c. For the animals this writer generally uses 'after their kind,' vi. 20, &c., to express the same idea, i. e. that the pairs of each kind, and perhaps also larger groups of more or less similar animals, kept together.

viii. 20-22. Primitive Document. *Noah's sacrifice and Yahweh's promise.*

20. Noah builded an altar . . . and offered burnt offerings on the altar. In this document the patriarchs constantly build altars and offer sacrifices; but the Priestly writer records no altars or sacrifices before the time of Moses, because, according to his theory, they were first revealed to the Lawgiver.

of every clean beast, &c. Cf. vii. 2 f. On the other hand, the Priestly writer's limitation of the number in every case to two rendered sacrifice impossible without preventing the propagation and therefore the continuance of the kind of animal sacrificed.

burnt offerings: sacrifices in which the whole of the victims were consumed upon the altar, and thus offered to God, as distinguished from the more ordinary sacrifices of which only parts were burnt, and the rest eaten by the offerer and his friends. The burnt offering was thus a more emphatic expression of gratitude or form of supplication. In the tablets and other primitive Flood traditions the hero offers sacrifice after leaving his ark or ship.

21. the LORD smelled the sweet savour. The phrase is a survival of the crude primitive notion that the gods found a physical pleasure in the smell of the smoke of a burning sacrifice; but the use of the phrase no more implies that the authors of *Genesis* held this belief than the fact that we call our sacred day *Sunday* implies that we worship the sun.

LORD said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground
any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of
man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again
22 smite any more every thing living, as I have done. While
the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and
heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall
9 not cease. [P] And God blessed Noah and his sons, and
said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish
2 the earth. And the fear of you and the dread of you
shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every

In the tablets Tsitnapishtim offers a sacrifice on the highest peak of the mountain; the gods smell the pleasant odour, and flock round the offerer like flies.

the LORD said in his heart, i. e. resolved. The *naïveté* of the ancient tradition is illustrated by the absence of any explanation of the way in which the thoughts of Yahweh became known to men.

I will not again curse the ground. Cf. iii. 17, iv. 11, 12, and on ix. 15. On three successive occasions Yahweh had changed the state of the 'ground,' i. e. the physical circumstances of human life, for the worse, in punishment of man's sin, but universal chastisement of the whole race will not be again inflicted. The idea seems to be in the writer's mind that the human life had already become so miserable and precarious that any further change for the worse could only mean the annihilation of the race. Cf. Isa. liv. 9.

for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth. The life-long depravity of man would still continue to provoke and justify God's wrath: but He would forbear in spite of their sin. Yahweh had done all that He could by way of chastisement to educate man to a higher morality, and had failed; now He holds His hand rather than destroy His creation altogether. The writer implies that the descendants of Noah will be no better than their predecessors (cf. vi. 5), and proceeds to give a striking example of their depravity in the incident of Noah's drunkenness and its sequel.

R. V. marg., 'for the imagination,' &c., expresses the same ideas rather more explicitly.

22. The form of this verse is poetical in the Hebrew.

ix. 1–17. Priestly Document. *The Divine Blessing and Covenant.*

fowl of the air; with all wherewith the ground teemeth, and all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered. Every moving thing that liveth shall be food 3
for you; as the green herb have I given you all. But 4
flesh with the life thereof, *which is* the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. And surely your blood, *the blood* of 5
your lives, will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it: and at the hand of man, even at the hand of every man's brother, will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be 6
shed: for in the image of God made he man. And you, 7
be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, 8
saying, And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, 9
and with your seed after you; and with every living 10
creature that is with you, the fowl, the cattle, and every

1–3. Closely parallel to i. 28, 29.

3. Every moving thing that liveth shall be food for you. In i. 29 men were limited to vegetable food, now they are allowed to eat the flesh of animals.

4. the life . . . the blood . . . shall ye not eat. Cf. Lev. xvii. 11. The loss of the blood of an animal was a most familiar and striking form of death; the blood was regarded as the seat of life, and thus became its symbol. Moreover, the blood was part of God's share of the sacrifice, and in early times all slaying of cattle and sheep, &c., for food took the form of a sacrifice. Hence the blood was forbidden to man, because it was a sacred thing reserved for God. We see that the eating of blood was forbidden in ancient Israel from the incident in 1 Sam. xiv. 17–35, where Saul is told, 'Behold, the people sin against Yahweh, in that they eat with the blood.' There is no parallel to ix. 1–7 in the Babylonian versions of the Flood story.

6. in the image of God. Cf. i. 27.

9. covenant. Cf. vi. 18.

10. and with every living creature. The text merely means that the covenant was a gracious declaration of God's beneficent purpose to animals as well as men; there is no idea of any conscious relation of the animals to God.

beast of the earth with you; of all that go out of the ark,
11 even every beast of the earth. And I will establish my
covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any
more by the waters of the flood; neither shall there any
12 more be a flood to destroy the earth. And God said,
This is the token of the covenant which I make between
me and you and every living creature that is with you,
13 for perpetual generations: I do set my bow in the cloud,
and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me
14 and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring
a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in
15 the cloud, and I will remember my covenant, which is

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13. I do set: R. V. marg., 'I have set.' There is no practical difference.

my bow in the cloud: the rainbow; cf. Ezek. i. 28. The paragraph in the Babylonian story which corresponds in position to this episode of the rainbow does not seem to contain this feature. The 'Lady of the Gods,' i.e. the goddess Ishtar, 'raises on high the great neck ornament[1],' not, however, to place it in the sky as a token of a covenant or Divine promise, but in order to emphasize an oath which she takes[2]. It is also stated that the phrase 'bow of the deluge' is found in a hymn of the Sumerians, the people inhabiting the Euphrates valley before the Babylonians. In the Lithuanian deluge story the rainbow appears to comfort the survivors[3]. The plain intention of the narrative is that the rainbow did not exist before the Deluge, and was created at this time.

14. I will remember my covenant. Otherwise it seems God might have forgotten. This idea is more primitive than the theology of the Priestly writer, and is no doubt reproduced from some older version of the story, without reflection upon what is implied by the language used. In the tablets the oath of Ishtar, referred to in the previous note, is that she will never forget the days of the Flood. Then the other gods remonstrate with Bel for

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[1] So Gunkel, Jensen, &c. Sayce has 'bow' for 'great neck ornament,' perhaps through the natural expectation of finding a parallel to the Biblical narrative.

[2] See next note.

[3] Patrick. 'RAINBOW'; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh. And the bow shall be in the cloud; 16 and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth. And God said unto 17 Noah, This is the token of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.

[J] And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, 18 were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan. These three were the sons of Noah: 19 and of these was the whole earth overspread.

And Noah began to be an husbandman, and planted 20

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causing the Flood, and suggest that in future individual sinners should be punished by wild beasts or famine.

16, 17. An unnecessary repetition of 12, 14, 15, probably due to unskilful editing.

ix. 18–27. THE CURSE OF CANAAN (J).

ix. 18, 19. Noah and his family leave the ark and people the earth.

ix. 20–24. Noah plants a vineyard and becomes drunk, and exposes himself. *Ham* observes him, but Shem and Japheth cover him without looking.

ix. 25–27. Noah curses *Canaan* and blesses Japheth and Shem.

Source. These verses are taken from the Primitive Document, but we cannot be certain that the story of Noah's planting the vine had any original connexion with the Flood. It is an account of a step in civilization parallel to that of the inventions of the sons of Lamech in iv. 19, 24, and, as in iv, the account ends with an oracular poem. This poem, however, does not seem to have belonged originally to the story; in it the sons of Noah are *Canaan*, Japheth, and Shem, and not Shem, *Ham*, and Japheth, as elsewhere. The editor noticed this discrepancy and tried to remedy it, making Canaan the son of Ham, verses 18 and 22.

20. Noah began to be an husbandman, &c. As agriculture was the ordinary mode of life we should suppose that Noah

21 a vineyard: and he drank of the wine, and was drunken;
22 and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the
father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and
23 told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth
took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders,
and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their
father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not
24 their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his
wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto
25 him. And he said,

Cursed be Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

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always had been an husbandman. We should translate: 'And Noah the husbandman was the first to plant a vineyard.'

21. was drunken. Probably the writer did not mean to imply that Noah was to blame. Indeed, as he had never drunk wine before he could not know what its effect would be.

24. his youngest son. The R.V. marg. 'younger' is not a possible meaning where one of three is concerned. Elsewhere, both in the Primitive[1] and the Priestly[2] Document, Ham is the second son, an indication that this episode was not originally part of the Flood story.

had done. In the story as it stands Ham does not seem to have 'done' anything wrong. He had seen what he could not help seeing, and had told his brethren. Probably a portion of the story has been omitted.

25. Cursed be Canaan. The explanation that the guilty Ham was the father of Canaan is not adequate. This short poem, the original meaning of which is considered below, cannot have been the original close of the story. The compiler of the Primitive Document may have felt that the filial conduct of Shem and Japheth would explain the blessings upon them; and then did the best he could to explain the occurrence of Canaan instead of Ham.

A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren: rather 'a slave of slaves.' The meaning is that the peoples denoted by 'Canaan' should be politically subject to those denoted by 'Shem and Japheth.' Before the Civil War in America this verse was freely used by clergymen and others in the Southern States

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[1] Gen. ix. 18. [2] Gen. v. 32, vi. 10, &c.

And he said,
Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.
God enlarge Japheth,
And let him dwell in the tents of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.

to justify slavery, on the ground that the negroes were the descendants of Ham—a noteworthy example of the danger of a strained literalism in the interpretation of the Scripture.

26. Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem. We should expect the blessing to be on Shem himself, as in the next verse on Japheth. It has been suggested that the original reading was 'Blessed of Yahweh be Shem.'

26, 27. his servant: better, as R. V. marg., 'their servant.'

27. God: not Yahweh, because Yahweh is especially the 'God of Shem,' and not of Japheth.

enlarge Japheth. The Hebrew *yapht le-yepheth* contains one of those plays upon words of which O. T. writers were fond. The phrase means, 'May God give the Japhethic peoples wide dominions.'

And let him (R. V. marg., 'he shall') **dwell in the tents of Shem.** The 'him' or 'he' has been understood to mean God, i. e. 'Let Him give wide dominions to Japheth, but let Him dwell in the tents of Shem,' i. e. 'Let Japheth enjoy political supremacy, but let Shem be pre-eminent for spiritual privileges,' but the primitive theology held that political and religious superiority went hand-in-hand. It is more probable that the 'him' or 'he' is Japheth; but even so, the meaning of the clause is not clear. The word 'dwell[1]' means 'dwell permanently.' In Ps. lxxviii. 55 Israel 'dwells in the tents' of the enemies who have been driven out, and the passage here is often taken to mean that Japheth would dispossess Shem of a portion of its territory; but such an idea seems out of place in a poem which is partly a blessing on Shem. Somewhat similar phrases are used in Ps. lxxxiv. 10, cxx. 5 for dwelling in friendship with an ally. Hence it is sometimes said that 'Dwelling in the tents of Shem does not mean conquest, but points to the friendly relations that should exist between the Semitic and Japhethic races; the latter participating in the honour paid the former, and sharing the religious privileges enjoyed by them[2].'

25–27. In considering this oracle we may regard it as an ancient poem on the relations of Canaan, Shem, and Japheth, which had

[1] *Shakhen.* [2] Spurrell on this passage.

28 [P] And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and
29 fifty years. And all the days of Noah were nine hundred
and fifty years: and he died.

10 Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah,

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no original connexion either with the stories about Noah or the elaborate genealogies in chapter x, so that the meaning of the names is not determined either by the stories or the genealogies. Shem here is a title or name of Israel, otherwise no Israelite writer would state that Yahweh was 'the God of Shem,' or specially connect Yahweh with Shem as distinguished from Japheth. Canaan is obviously the Canaanites whom Israel subdued; so far all is clear. It is difficult to recognize Japheth; in x. 1–5 he is the ancestor of the peoples to the north and west of Israel, but this may be merely a late theory, quite unknown to primitive tradition. Nor should we be helped in the interpretation of this passage by an identification with the Titan Iapetus of Greek mythology, the son of Earth and Heaven, and the father of mankind. After Gen. x Japheth is never mentioned again except in passages of *Chronicles* borrowed from *Genesis*. If we were controlled by x. 1–5, it would be difficult to find a historical connexion for verse 27 before the Greek conquest of Syria in the fourth century B. C.; or it might be barely possible to see in these lines an expression of the vague goodwill which people who hate their neighbours sometimes feel for far-off, unknown strangers. But if, as seems probable, we may put aside x. 1–5, we might understand Japheth to be the intruding Philistines, or the friendly Phoenicians, according to the interpretation we give to 'dwell in the tents.'

Or, again, the lines have the ring of an Israelite battle-cry, at a time when Israel was in the full tide of triumphant invasion of some Canaanite territory; 'Japheth' seems to be their ally. If we could, with an increasing number of scholars, identify the Habiri of the Amarna tablets with Israel, these Habiri invade the country in alliance with native and other princes; and here, perhaps, with fuller knowledge we might find Japheth.

ix. 28, 29. THE LAST DAYS OF NOAH (P).

Source. This is the conclusion of the Priestly account of the Flood. In the Babylonian story the hero of the Flood, like Enoch, does not die, but is translated to live among the gods.

x. THE DESCENT OF THE NATIONS FROM THE SONS OF NOAH (J and P).

This chapter is compiled from the Primitive and the Priestly Documents. The editor has here, as elsewhere, taken the Priestly

Shem, Ham and Japheth: and unto them were sons born after the flood.

Document as a framework, and inserted such portions of the Primitive Document as were neither mere repetitions nor glaring contradictions. The genealogical formula is merely a picturesque conventional fashion of expressing geographical and political relationships; though the genealogies may have been understood literally by some readers. In the case of such a set of geographical statistics, a reader who thought he had further or more correct information would make additions or corrections in the margin, and some of these would afterwards be copied into the text. Hence we may expect to find here not only extracts from the original sources, and editorial matter, but also other additions and modifications. There seem to be some traces of these discernible in verses 18, 19, and 24[1].

Seeing that Shem and Japheth are never mentioned after this chapter except in 1 Chron. i, which is borrowed from here, there seems no evidence that the division of the peoples between Shem, Ham, and Japheth, or even into three sections, is part of primitive Israelite tradition. Reflection on the story of the Flood showed that all the peoples of the earth must have been descended from Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and a division was accordingly made according to current theories of historical criticism. Shem[2] was specially connected by ancient tradition with Israel, and so the nations with whom Israel recognized any connexion were reckoned children of Shem. Similarly Ham was a name of Egypt, and the peoples which seemed to form a group with Egypt were the children of Ham. The other peoples were then obviously the children of Japheth. Many of the names are obscure, and possibly some passages have been spoiled in course of copying; but the general scheme seems to be roughly as follows. In the Priestly Document Shem occupies Western Asia, east of Palestine, including parts of Arabia; Ham occupies North-East Africa, Palestine, and perhaps parts of Arabia; Japheth occupies Asia Minor and regions eastward and westward of Asia Minor.

The scheme of the Primitive Document is not complete, parts having been omitted to make room for the corresponding sections of the other document.

Obviously the chapter does *not* include all the nations of the earth, but only those with whom its authors were acquainted. Some of the peoples most closely connected with Israel, e. g. Edom, Moab, and Ammon, are omitted because they were supposed to have originated at a later date than the nations enumerated in this chapter.

[1] See notes on these verses. [2] See notes on ix. 26 f.

2 The sons of Japheth; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai,
3 and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And
the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and To-

There is a marked resemblance between several of the groups of names in the Priestly Document and similar lists in Ezekiel.

x. 1–7. Priestly Document. *The Sons of Japheth and the Sons of Ham.*

1. these are the generations. The heading of a new section of this document; see on ii. 4.

and unto them were sons born after the flood. Perhaps a fragment of the Primitive Document; cf. verses 21, 25.

2. Gomer: the Cimmerians of the Greek, the Gimirra of Assyrian inscriptions, an Aryan people of Southern Russia, who invaded Western Asia in the seventh century B. C., and occupied at different times various districts from Persia to Phrygia. Gomer is also mentioned in the parallel passage in 1 Chron. i. 5, 6, and appears in Ezek. xxxviii. 1–6 together with Meshech, Tubal, and the house of Togarmah as part of the army of Gog, of the land of Magog. See also on verses 3, 6.

Magog: not certainly identified; from its proximity to Gomer (cf. previous note) it is probably one of the Cimmerian settlements in Asia Minor. Also mentioned 1 Chron. i. 5; in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, 'Gog, of the land of Magog,' sometimes interpreted to mean Gyges of Lydia, appears as the leader of the enemies of Israel.

Madai: the Medes, also 1 Chron. i. 5.

Javan: the Ionians or Greeks, commonly spoken of under this name in the O. T. The Greeks were settled not only in Greece and the islands of the Levant, but along the coasts of Asia Minor.

Tubal, and Meshech, who usually appear together, are identified with the Tibarenians and Moschians who occupied territory to the south-east of the Black Sea. Cf. above on Gomer.

Tiras: often identified with a seafaring people known to the Egyptians as *Turusa*, and to the Greeks as *Tursení*, who occupied some of the coasts and islands of the Aegaean. Others take it to be a form of Tarshish, verse 4. Tiras is only mentioned here and 1 Chron. i. 5.

3. sons of Gomer: i. e. subdivisions of the people Gomer, or perhaps also peoples subject to Gomer, or both.

Ashkenaz: probably a people occupying part of Armenia. It is mentioned in Jer. li. 27 in connexion with Ararat and Minni, elsewhere only 1 Chron. i. 6.

Riphath: in 1 Chron. i. 6 *Diphath*; not identified, but pro-

garmah. And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, 4
Kittim, and Dodanim. Of these were the isles of the 5
nations divided in their lands, every one after his
tongue; after their families, in their nations.

And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Put, and 6

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bably a people or district of Asia Minor. The name only occurs in these two passages.

Togarmah: probably a district of Armenia. In Ezek. xxvii. 14 the 'house of Togarmah' trade with Tyre with 'horses, war-horses, and mules,' and in Ezek. xxxviii. 6 we read of 'the house of Togarmah, in the uttermost parts of the north, and all his hordes'; cf. above on Gomer. Togarmah is only mentioned elsewhere in 1 Chron. i. 6.

4. sons of Javan. The following four names need not all be actual Greek peoples, but simply peoples whom the Israelites classed geographically or politically with the Greeks. Similarly 'Frank' in the East to-day means not merely French, but any Western European.

Elishah: not identified, sometimes supposed to be Sicily and South Italy, where there were many Greek colonies; and sometimes, less probably, Carthage. In Ezek. xxvii. 7 we read of 'blue and purple' from the 'isles' or coasts of Elishah.

Tarshish: usually identified with Tartessus, a Phoenician colony in Southern Spain; frequently mentioned in the O. T. as a great and distant trade resort reached by sea from Palestine, e. g. Jonah i. 3 from Joppa.

Kittim: Cyprus, so frequently in the O. T.

Dodanim should be corrected to *Rodanim*, the form found in 1 Chron. i. 7 = Rhodes. In Ezek. xxvii. 15 the Septuagint has Rhodians for the 'Dedan' of the Hebrew text; otherwise they are not mentioned in the O. T.

5. Of these: the four sons of Javan just enumerated.

isles: R.V. marg. 'coastlands.'

every one after his tongue: the Priestly Document ignores the story of the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel.

6. Ham: used in Ps. cv. 23, 27, &c., for Egypt.

Cush: usually Ethiopia, and probably so here, but cf. on 'sons of Cush' and on verse 8.

Mizraim: Egypt as usually.

Put: not certainly known; often identified with the *Punt* of the Egyptian inscriptions, which may be the African coast of the Red Sea. 'Cush and Put' appear in Jer. xlvi. 9, and in Ezek. xxx. 5, amongst the warriors of Egypt, and in Ezek. xxxviii. 5 amongst

7 Canaan. And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah,
and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabteca: and the sons
8 of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan. [J] And Cush begat

the auxiliaries of Gog. 'Put' is amongst the auxiliaries of Egypt in Nahum iii. 9, and amongst those of Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. 10.

7. the sons of Cush. Although some of the names in the following list cannot be certainly identified, it is clear that the territories mentioned here as dependent on Cush or Ethiopia belong to East Africa and South-West Arabia. These two districts have usually been closely connected. The view that Nimrod, verse 8, was a son of Cush is quite unconnected with the scheme of the Priestly Document, and refers to a different Cush.

Seba: not certainly known, sometimes placed in or near Egypt, sometimes in South Arabia. Seba is connected with Egypt and Ethiopia in Isa. xliii. 3 and xlv. 14, and with Sheba in Ps. lxxii. 10.

Havilah: either in North-East Africa or in Arabia, cf. ii. 11. In the Primitive Document, verse 29, Havilah, probably the same district or people, is reckoned among the descendants of Shem.

Sabtah: unknown, doubtless in the neighbourhood of the other 'sons of Cush,' only mentioned elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 9.

Raamah. An inscription in the South-West of Arabia seems to place Raamah in that district. The name only occurs elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 9, and Ezek. xxvii. 22, 'the merchants of Sheba and Raamah.'

Sabteca, as for Sabtah above.

Sheba, the important and famous state in Southern Arabia, whose people are often spoken of as the Sabaeans; often mentioned in the O. T., e.g. the visit of the Queen of Sheba, 1 Kings x; 'the merchants of Sheba,' Ezek. xxvii. 22, 23. 'Sheba and Dedan' are coupled in Ezek. xxxviii. 13, as here. In the Primitive Document, verse 28, Sheba is reckoned among the descendants of Shem; while yet another genealogy, of uncertain origin[1], makes Sheba and Dedan a descendant of Abraham and Keturah.

Dedan, a tribe of Southern Arabia, often referred to as traders[2]. Cf. above on Sheba.

x. 8–19. Primitive Document. *Nimrod and the early Babylonian and Assyrian empires. The descendants of Misraim and of Canaan.*

8. Cush begat Nimrod: a different Cush from that in the

[1] See on Gen. xxv. 3.

[2] Isa. xxi. 13; Jer. xxv. 23, xlix. 8; Ezek. xxv. 13, xxvii. 15, 20, xxxviii. 13.

Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He 9
was a mighty hunter before the LORD: wherefore it is said,
Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the LORD. And the 10
beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and
Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that 11

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previous paragraph. This is not Ethiopia, but a district to the east of Babylonia, which was the original home of one of the early Babylonian dynasties.

Nimrod: only elsewhere in the parallel passage 1 Chron. i. 10, and in Mic. v. 6, where 'the land of Nimrod' is closely connected with Assyria. Nothing is known of Nimrod beyond what we are told here, neither are there strong reasons for identifying him with any personage of Babylonian or Assyrian history or mythology. There are many theories; e. g. that Nimrod is the Babylonian god Merodach; or Gilgames, king of Erech, the hero of the epic of which the Flood is an episode; or one of the early Babylonian kings.

he began to be a mighty one: rather 'he was the first conqueror' or 'great king.'

9. a mighty hunter. The Assyrian kings were enthusiastic hunters, and hunting scenes are often depicted on their monuments.

before the LORD. This is variously explained as 'a divinely great hunter'; 'a hunter in spite of, or in disregard of, the Lord'; or 'a hunter in heaven.' The last theory supposes that Nimrod, like Orion, was a mythological character, who gave name to a constellation. The meaning of the phrase is not certainly known.

10. the beginning of his kingdom was: i.e. at the beginning of his reign his kingdom consisted of Babel and the other towns mentioned in this verse; afterwards he added the Assyrian towns mentioned in the next verse. It is not said that he founded or conquered Babel, &c.; and the terms of this verse would be consistent with his having in Babylonia succeeded to the throne previously occupied by a line of kings.

Babel: see on xi. 9.

Erech: on the Euphrates south of Babylon.

Accad: not certainly identified. Accad was the name of Babylonia before its occupation by the Semitic Babylonians, but here Accad is apparently a city, and is sometimes supposed to be *Agade*, a Babylonian city whose exact site is not known.

Calneh: not certainly identified, perhaps Nippur.

the land of Shinar: commonly identified with Babylonia.

11. Out of that land. The historical representation that

land he went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh,
12 and Rehoboth-Ir, and Calah, and Resen between
13 Nineveh and Calah (the same is the great city). And
Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and
14 Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (whence went
forth the Philistines), and Caphtorim.
15 And Canaan begat Zidon his firstborn, and Heth;

Assyria was a colony or offshoot of the early Babylonian empire is confirmed by the inscriptions. We have no actual account of the emigration, but all the evidence tends to show that Assyria was settled by emigrants from Babylonia at some date before B. C. 2300.

he went forth into Assyria. The R. V. marg., 'went forth Asshur,' is not a probable translation.

Nineveh, on the Tigris, opposite the site of the modern *Mosul.* References to the city are found as early as B. C. 2800.

Rehoboth-Ir: not identified.

12. Calah, on the Tigris, twenty miles south of Nineveh, on the site of the modern *Nimrud.*

Resen: the site cannot be more exactly fixed than it is by the statement here that it was between Nineveh and Calah.

13, 14. Note that the descendants of Mizraim (Egypt) are expressly given as peoples, *Ludim,* i.e. Ludites, &c.

13. Ludim: not identified, the name suggests Lydians, but even if understood of Lydian mercenaries *Ludim* here can hardly be Lydians. *Lud* or *Ludim* are connected with Ethiopia and Lybia in Jer. xlvi. 9 and Ezek. xxx. 5. In the Priestly Document, verse 22, Lud is a descendant of Shem.

Anamim: not identified, only elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 11.

Lehabim, a corruption of *Lubim,* Libyans.

Naphtuhim: not identified, only elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 11.

14. Pathrusim, the people of Pathros, i. e. probably Upper Egypt.

Casluhim: not identified, only elsewhere 1 Chron. i. 12.

whence went forth the Philistines: Heb. 'Pelishtim.' As the Philistines are said in Amos ix. 7 and Jer. xlvii. 4 to have come from Caphtor, this clause should be placed after Caphtorim. It was probably a note in the margin, which has been introduced into the text in the wrong place.

Caphtorim. The locality of Caphtor is not yet definitely fixed; it has been variously identified with a district in Egypt, with Phoenicia, Cyprus, Crete, and Cilicia.

15. Zidon his firstborn. Zidon, as the ancient capital, stands

and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgashite; 16
and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite; and the 17,18
Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and
afterward were the families of the Canaanite spread
abroad. And the border of the Canaanite was from 19
Zidon, as thou goest toward Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou
goest toward Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and

---

here for the Phoenicians, the 'firstborn' or most important branch of the inhabitants of Canaan.

Heth, or the Hittites, a great people, at one time dominant in Asia Minor and Syria. Here the 'Heth,' who is a son of Canaan and less important than Zidon, stands merely for the Hittite settlements in Canaan. The Hittites were not Semites, and belonged to an entirely different race from the Phoenicians.

16. Jebusite: the inhabitants of Jerusalem and its district.

Amorite: a term variously used, sometimes for the inhabitants of Canaan generally; sometimes, e. g. in the Amarna tablets, for the inhabitants of Northern Palestine.

Girgashite: not identified.

17, 18. Hivite: inhabitants of the districts about Gibeon, Shechem, and Hermon.

Arkite . . . Sinite . . . Arvadite . . . Zemarite: inhabitants of Arka, Sianu, Arvad, and Zemar, towns in Northern Phoenicia.

Hamathite. Hamath was a city and state to the north of Palestine.

afterward were the families of the Canaanite spread abroad. This must be read with the following verse, spread abroad so as to occupy the territory defined in the following verse.

19. the border of the Canaanite. The border is traced from Zidon at the north-west of Canaan southward along the coast to Gerar (see xx. 1) and Gaza in the south-west, then eastward across the desert south of Palestine to a group of cities at the south-east (?) of the Dead Sea. The eastern frontier is probably assumed to be the Dead Sea and the Jordan, and the northern frontier a line drawn eastward from Zidon. This territory does not include Arka, Sianu, Arvad and Zemar of verse 18. Probably verses 15-19 have received late additions.

Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim. The same group of cities occur in Gen. xiv. 2 and Deut. xxix. 23; in the latter passage all four are spoken of as overthrown by Yahweh. In Gen. xix only Sodom and Gomorrah are named as overthrown. In Hosea xi. 8, on the other hand, only Admah

20 Zeboiim, unto Lasha. [P] These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations.

21 [J] And unto Shem, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth, to him also were children
22 born. [P] The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and

---

and Zeboiim are so named. These cities were probably located at the south-east of the Dead Sea: cf. on xix.

Lasha: not known, and not mentioned anywhere else. If we could read Laish or Lesham in Dan we should have the north-east point, at which the northern and eastern borders of Canaan might meet, and the territory would then be exactly defined. The formulae, however, in the rest of the verse suggest that the writer would not have wrapped up all this information in two words, but would have been more explicit. Possibly a scribe jotted down 'unto Lesham' in the margin as a point fixing the boundaries not specified; and this phrase was copied into the text in a corrupt form.

x. 20. Priestly Document. *Conclusion of the genealogy of Ham.* This lawyer-like accumulation of synonymous terms is characteristic of this document.

x. 21. Primitive Document. *Beginning of the genealogy of Shem.*

the father of all the children of Eber. Special stress is laid upon the ancestry of Eber, because Eber was the ancestor of Israel, and from Eber was formed the name *Hebrew* by which the Israelites were known in relation to foreigners. 'Eber' means 'beyond,' and the Hebrews were so-called as living 'beyond the river,' probably west of the Euphrates. Thus Eber is an eponymous ancestor. In early times 'Hebrews' included other tribes besides Israel; and if 'Habiri' in the Amarna tablets means Hebrews it is in this larger sense. Later on Hebrew became synonymous with Israelite. According to verses 22, 24 Eber is the great-grandson of Shem.

the elder brother of Japheth: inserted to prevent the reader thinking that Shem was the youngest, because he is mentioned last. The R. V. marg., 'the brother of Japheth the elder,' is apparently meant to assert that Japheth was the elder—an improbable translation.

x. 22–24. Priestly Document. *Beginning of the genealogy of Shem.*

22. Elam, east of Assyria.

Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram. And the sons of Aram; 23
Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash. [J] And Arpachshad 24
begat Shelah; and Shelah begat Eber. And unto Eber 25
were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg;
for in his days was the earth divided; and his brother's
name was Joktan. And Joktan begat Almodad, and 26
Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah; and Hadoram, and 27
Uzal, and Diklah; and Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba; 28
and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab: all these were the 29
sons of Joktan. And their dwelling was from Mesha, 30

Asshur: Assyria.

Arpachshad: perhaps equivalent to 'the territory of Chesed,' i. e. 'of the Chaldeans or Babylonians.' Here Eber is descended from Arpachshad, and Abraham the Hebrew comes from Ur-Chasdim.

Lud: perhaps Lydia, cf. verse 13.

Aram: Syria.

23. Uz . . . Hul . . . Gether . . . Mash: districts of Syria whose exact locality is not certainly known. In xxii. 21 J, Uz is a son of Nahor.

24-30. Primitive Document. *Conclusion of the genealogy of Shem.*

24. Arpachshad begat Shelah. The Septuagint has 'begat Cainan, and Cainan begat Shelah.' Nothing is known about Shelah. This verse is generally considered to be an addition by the editor.

25. Peleg: unknown.

in his days was the earth divided: i. e. the inhabitants separated into different nations, and divided the lands between them, perhaps a reference to the scattering of the peoples in xi. 1-9. Joktan and his sons, verses 26-29, as far as they can be identified, seem for the most part to be tribes of South-West Arabia.

28. Obal. In 1 Chron. i. 22, Ebal.

Sheba. See verse 7.

29. Ophir. The position of Ophir is the subject of much controversy, e. g. it has recently been placed in South-East Africa, also on the Persian Gulf, and in India.

Havilah. See verse 7.

30. from Mesha, &c. This boundary line cannot be determined, because Mesha, Sephar, and the mountain of the east are none of them certainly known. Probably the territory indicated is part of Arabia.

as thou goest toward Sephar, the mountain of the east.
31 [P] These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.
32 These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and of these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

11 [J] And the whole earth was of one language and of one
2 speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they
3 dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them throughly. And they
4 had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar. And

x. 31, 32. Priestly Document. *Conclusion of the genealogy of Shem, and of the sons of Noah generally.*

xi. 1–9. The Tower of Babel (J).

Mankind settle in Babylonia as a single community, speaking one language. They propose to build a city and a tower that they may keep together. But Yahweh, lest they should become too powerful, makes them speak different languages, so that they cannot understand one another, and scatters them over the face of the earth. Hence the city was called Confusion (Babel).

Sources, &c. No Babylonian original has yet been found; but similar stories of one original language are cited from other folklore. The narrative reveals the profound impression made upon the Israelites by the vast extent, the culture, and the antiquity of Babylon. This story, we must remember, is at least as old as the early monarchy, say the time of Solomon.

1. language . . . speech. *Heb.* 'lips . . . words.'

2. as they journeyed east. In chapters ii–iv Eden seems to be in the east, and Adam and Eve are driven from Eden eastward[1]; so that those chapters seem to place mankind already east of Babylon. If so, this section is an independent story. The R. V. marg., 'in the east,' would be consistent with ii–iv.

Shinar. Cf. x. 10. Babylonia is a vast plain.

3. slime. R. V. marg. 'bitumen,' equivalent to the 'pitch' in vi. 14 (which see), though a different word is used here. Bitumen

[1] Gen. ii. 8, iii. 24.

they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top *may reach* unto heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the LORD came down to see the city and the 5 tower, which the children of men builded. And the 6 LORD said, Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they begin to do: and now nothing will be withholden from them, which they purpose to do. Go to, let us go down, and there con- 7 found their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the LORD scattered them abroad 8 from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left

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was largely used for mortar in Babylonian buildings, which were mostly of brick.

4. a tower, whose top may reach **unto heaven:** a gigantic landmark, visible everywhere, so that men could not lose themselves, but might always find their way back to the great city which was to be the permanent home of mankind. Heaven to the primitive imagination was 'high above the earth,' but not so high but that it might be reached in time. We are reminded of the classical story in which the Titans piled Mount Pelion on Mount Ossa to reach Olympus, the home of the gods; but there is no idea here of men using the tower as a way up to heaven. It was merely a rallying point. The tower was suggested by the ruins of one of the immense temple towers or pyramids of Babylon, probably *É-sagil*, the great temple of Merodach.

let us make us a name: a great and glorious reputation. These vast buildings would be a monument of the energy, genius, and resource of the builders.

lest we be scattered. To the primitive mind the world beyond the familiar districts in which a community was settled seemed an inhospitable waste; and men were anxious to keep the comfortable society of their neighbours and kinsfolk.

5. The LORD came down to see: another touch of the primitive anthropomorphism which characterizes this document.

6. nothing will be withholden from them. In the same naïve spirit Yahweh is thought of as surprised at the achievements of mankind, and apprehensive lest the united race should be too powerful; just as in iii. 22–24 Adam and Eve are driven out of Eden lest they should become immortal.

7. let us go down. For the 'us' see on i. 26.

9 off to build the city. Therefore was the name of it called Babel; because the LORD did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the LORD scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

10 [P] These are the generations of Shem. Shem was an

8. they left off to build the city. Though not expressly stated, it is evidently implied that considerable progress had been made with the city and the tower, otherwise there would have been nothing for Yahweh to see to make Him apprehensive.

9. Therefore was the name of it called Babel. The name Babel (Babylon) might easily seem to a Hebrew writer a contraction of *Balbel*, 'confusion,' from the root *balal*, 'to confound,' just as the story might suggest to an English reader that Babel was derived from 'babble.' The real etymology of Babel is not certainly known; it is often explained as *Bab-il*, 'Gate of God.' In one Babylonian version of the Creation story Babylon and other cities are among the first things created, and Merodach makes bricks to build a dwelling for the gods. It is noteworthy that although the primitive tradition grew up when Babylon was a splendid metropolis, and the centre of culture and religion for the ancient East, this great city is regarded as unfinished, a monument of the futility of human effort apart from Divine approval. 'Except Yahweh build the house, they labour in vain that build it[1].'

xi. 10-26. The Genealogy from Shem to Abram (P).

This section continues the chronological scheme of the Priestly Document. Here again the figures differ in the different authorities (see Table opposite).

Here, as in the genealogy in chapter v, the Septuagint usually adds 100 years to the 'Age at birth of Firstborn,' but does not follow the method of ch. v in deducting this 100 years from the 'Rest of Life.' The Samaritan Text, however, usually adds 100 years to the 'Age at birth of Firstborn,' and deducts them from the 'Rest of Life.' In chapter v we have *ten* generations, here only *nine*; hence perhaps the insertion of Cainan by the Septuagint. The numbers for Cainan are repeated from those for Shelah. Adding together the figures in the two tables the interval from the Creation to the Birth of Abraham is 1,946 years according to the Massoretic Text, 2,247 years according to the Samaritan Text,

[1] Ps. cxxvii. 1.

hundred years old, and begat Arpachshad two years after the flood: and Shem lived after he begat Arpachshad 11
five hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

And Arpachshad lived five and thirty years, and begat 12
Shelah: and Arpachshad lived after he begat Shelah 13

	Massoretic Heb. Text.		Heb. Text in Samaritan MSS.		Septuagint.	
	Age at birth of First-born.	Rest of Life.	Age at birth of First-born.	Rest of Life.	Age at birth of First-born.	Rest of Life.
Shem	100	500	100	500	100	500
Arpachshad . . .	35	403	135	303	135	430
Cainan					130	330
Shelah	30	403	130	303	130	330
Eber	34	430	134	270	134	370
Peleg	30	209	130	109	130	209
Reu	32	207	132	107	132	207
Serug	30	200	130	100	130	200
Nahor	29	119	79	69	79	129
Terah	70	135	70	75	70	135
Total . . .	390		1040		1170	
From Flood to Birth of Abraham . .	290		940		1070	

3,332 years according to the Septuagint. Perhaps the Hebrew Text is the more accurate here. The numbers differ somewhat in different manuscripts of the Septuagint.

10. generations: see ii. 4.

Shem: see ix. 26.

Arpachshad: see x. 22, where Arpachshad is the third son of Shem.

two years after the flood. According to v. 32, vii. 6 (both P) Shem was an hundred years old when the Flood began. The clause here is probably an addition by some one who overlooked the previous date and wished to make it clear that the birth did not happen till Shem had left the ark.

12. Shelah: see x. 24. Before Shelah the Septuagint inserts Cainan, see above.

four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

14,15 And Shelah lived thirty years, and begat Eber: and Shelah lived after he begat Eber four hundred and three years, and begat sons and daughters.

16 And Eber lived four and thirty years, and begat Peleg:

17 and Eber lived after he begat Peleg four hundred and thirty years, and begat sons and daughters.

18,19 And Peleg lived thirty years, and begat Reu: and Peleg lived after he begat Reu two hundred and nine years, and begat sons and daughters.

20 And Reu lived two and thirty years, and begat Serug:

21 and Reu lived after he begat Serug two hundred and seven years, and begat sons and daughters.

22,23 And Serug lived thirty years, and begat Nahor: and Serug lived after he begat Nahor two hundred years, and begat sons and daughters.

24 And Nahor lived nine and twenty years, and begat

25 Terah: and Nahor lived after he begat Terah an hundred and nineteen years, and begat sons and daughters.

26 And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.

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14. Eber: see x. 24.

16. Peleg: see x. 25.

18. Reu } otherwise unknown, sometimes taken to be
20. Serug } names of ancient Semitic deities.

22. Nahor: perhaps originally the same as the **Nahor** who in verse 26 is the son of Terah.

24. Terah: also sometimes taken as the name of a deity.

26. Abram: probably understood by the priestly writer as Lofty (*ram*) Father (*ab*), i. e. the great ancestor of Israel. The word is, however, a form of Abiram, 'The Father is the Lofty One,' where both elements are divine titles. A corresponding name, *Abu-raum*, is found in Babylonian and Assyrian. Many scholars hold that in Abram, at any rate, we meet with a real

Now these are the generations of Terah. Terah be- 27
gat Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begat Lot.
[J] And Haran died in the presence of his father Terah 28
in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees. And 29
Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of
Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife,

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historical personage, and are not merely reading of the history of a people. For the form *Abraham* see on xvii. 5.

Nahor. There is no clear evidence to show whether Nahor was originally the name of a place, a people, a deity, or an individual. Cf. verse 29.

Haran. The initial letter (*He*) of this name in Hebrew is different from that (*Heth*) of the place Haran in verses 31, 32. Nevertheless it has been supposed that the one is a corruption of the other, and that this Haran is the place personified. Apart from this doubtful theory we are as uncertain about Haran as we are about Nahor.

xi. 27-32. The Sons of Terah (J and P).

27. Priestly Document. *Terah's Family.*

Lot. As the 'father' of Moab and Ammon, Lot would be originally a tribal name. Lotan, perhaps another form of the same name, occurs as a Horite clan in Gen. xxxvi. 20-29. Notice also the similarity of Hor and Haran[1]. See further on xix.

28, 29. Primitive Document. *The Death of Haran. The wives of Abram and Nahor.*

28. Ur of the Chaldees. Heb. *Ur-Kasdim*, cf. on x. 22. The Chaldees, *Kaldu* in the inscriptions, occupied a district to the south-east of Babylonia proper. They had also settlements in Babylonia, where the dynasty was more than once Chaldean, e. g. in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence 'Chaldee' came to be used for 'Babylonian,' and so here. Ur is usually identified with *Mugheir* on the Euphrates, some distance east of its junction with the Tigris, and considerably south of Babylon.

29. Sarai. Her father's name is not given, perhaps because a clause of the Primitive Document has been omitted. In xx. 12 (E)[2] she is said to have been Abram's half-sister, a daughter of Terah. *Sarai* is perhaps an archaistic variation of the more usual *Sarah* = 'princess,' cf. xvii. 15. *Sarai* and *Nahor* are said to be found as personal names in Babylonian inscriptions[3].

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[1] The initials, however, are different in Hebrew.
[2] Cf. p. 30. [3] Kittel, *Babylonian Excavations*, Eng. tr., p. 33.

Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah,
30 and the father of Iscah. And Sarai was barren; she
31 had no child. [P] And Terah took Abram his son, and
Lot the son of Haran, his son's son, and Sarai his
daughter in law, his son Abram's wife; and they went
forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the
land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt
32 there. And the days of Terah were two hundred and
five years: and Terah died in Haran.

Milcah, also referred to in xxii. 20, 23, xxiv. 15, 24, 47. The name also occurs for one of the daughters of Zelophehad, Num. xxvi. 33, &c. Milcah, = 'queen,' was perhaps originally a divine title. Nahor marries his niece, i. e. according to some, two cognate tribes unite.

Iscah: never mentioned elsewhere, and in the present form of the narrative there seems no reason why she should be introduced here. Iscah has been supposed to be Sarai by another name, or to have married Lot. Here again the Primitive Document no doubt furnished further information, which has been omitted by the editor; unless we adopt a suggestion[1] that 'the father of Iscah' is due to an accidental repetition of 'the father of Sarai,' and the subsequent change of Sarai into Iscah. The etymology of Iscah is uncertain; it has been explained as an Aramaic name = 'beautiful, good-looking,' from a root *sakâ*.

xi. 31, 32. Priestly Document. *Terah and his family migrate from Ur to Haran, where Terah dies.*

31. they went forth: no reason is given. According to later legends they left Chaldea to avoid idolatry, e. g. Judith v. 6–9, 'This people are descended of the Chaldeans: and they sojourned ... in Mesopotamia, because they were not minded to follow the gods of their fathers ... and worshipped the God of heaven ... and they fled into Mesopotamia.' The germ of this account is found in Joshua xxiv. 2. It has been suggested that the Hammurabi dynasty[2] introduced a lower form of religion into Babylonia, and that therefore Abram, the representative of an older and purer faith, migrated[3].

32. the days of Terah were two hundred and five years. At first sight we might suppose from the arrangement of the

[1] Ball, *Sacred Books of the Old Testament.*
[2] See on ch. xiv. [3] Winckler, *Abraham als Babylonier*, p. 25.

[J] Now the LORD said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy 12
country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's
house, unto the land that I will shew thee: and I will 2
make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and
make thy name great; and be thou a blessing: and 3
I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth

narrative that Abram left Haran after the death of Terah; but Terah was seventy (verse 26) when Abram was born, and Abram was seventy-five (xii. 4, P), and therefore Terah 145, when Abram left Haran, so that Terah survived Abram's departure by sixty years. The Samaritan Text remedies this awkward arrangement by making Terah die at the age of 145, so that Abram waited till his father died before he left Haran. Some scholars believe the reading of the Samaritan Text to be the original. Possibly the awkward arrangement is due to lack of skill on the part of the editor.

xii. 1–9. ABRAM MIGRATES FROM HARAN TO CANAAN (J and P).

Without questioning the historical existence of Abram as an individual, we must yet think of this episode as not merely the travels of a childless couple and their nephew and servants, but the migration of nomad tribes which afterwards became Israel, Edom, Moab, Ammon, &c. Abram is not merely the husband of Sarai and the uncle of Lot, but the chief of those tribes. This is plainly intimated in xiv. 14, where he appears as the leader of 318 fighting men, 'born in his house.' If we accept these figures they would imply a following of at least 2,000 persons.

xii. 1–4ª. Primitive Document. *Abram and Lot leave Haran at the bidding of Yahweh.*

1. thy country. Haran, cf. xxiv. 4, 7, &c.

the land that I will shew thee. The land is not named, an additional test of the faith already severely tried by the command to leave home and kindred. 'By faith Abraham . . . went out, not knowing whither he went[1].'

2. be thou a blessing: sometimes explained as 'thou shalt be an incarnate blessing, prosperity itself[2]'; otherwise as 'thy happiness shall be so celebrated as to be a proverb, many men will say, "mayest thou be as blessed as Abraham"'; cf. the good wishes of the people of Beth-lehem for Boaz and Ruth, 'Yahweh make the woman that is come into thine house like Rachel and like Leah, which two did build the house of Israel[3],' cf. on verse 3ᵇ.

[1] Heb. xi. 8. [2] So Holzinger. [3] Ruth iv. 11.

thee will I curse: and in thee shall all the families of the
4 earth be blessed. So Abram went, as the LORD had
spoken unto him; and Lot went with him: [P] and
Abram was seventy and five years old when he departed
5 out of Haran. And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot
his brother's son, and all their substance that they had
gathered, and the souls that they had gotten in Haran;
and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and
6 into the land of Canaan they came. [J] And Abram
passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto

3. in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed. This promise is repeated to Abram, xviii. 18, and to Jacob, xxviii. 14. If we accept this translation the promise means that all nations shall be blessed through the Revelation given to Israel —a promise fulfilled through the universality of the Christian religion. But in xxii. 18, addressed to Abram, and in xxvi. 4, to Isaac, the promise is given in the form, 'in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves[1],' a phrase equivalent to the second interpretation given to 'be thou a blessing' in the note on the preceding verse. It is quite possible[2] that the promise here and in xviii. 18, xxviii. 14 should also be translated 'shall . . . bless themselves.'

xii. 4b, 5. Priestly Document. *Abram and Lot migrate from Haran to Canaan.*

4. seventy and five years old. See on xi. 32.

5. souls: i.e. 'persons'; their households, slaves and other dependants.

xii. 6–9. Primitive Document. *Abram's wanderings in Canaan.*

6, 7. Yahweh appears to Abram at Shechem, and Abram builds an altar.

8. Abram builds an altar near Beth-el.

9. Abram journeys southward.

6. Shechem: *Nablus* in Central Palestine, between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim. The phrase 'place of Shechem' has been understood to mean 'the place where Shechem afterwards stood,' and so to imply that Shechem did not yet exist. But this is

[1] The verbal forms in Hebrew for 'be blessed' in the first set of passages, and 'bless themselves' in the second, are different; *Niphal* for the former, *Hithpael* for the latter.

[2] The Niphal may have a reflexive meaning 'bless oneself.' So Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Heb. Lex.*

the oak of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land. And the LORD appeared unto Abram, and said, 7
Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded
he an altar unto the LORD, who appeared unto him.
And he removed from thence unto the mountain on the 8
east of Beth-el, and pitched his tent, having Beth-el on

improbable, 'place' is used of an inhabited town, xxix. 22, &c., and it is more likely that 'place' is used here, as in Jer. vii. 12, of a sanctuary. The Mount of Shechem (*Sakama*) seems to be mentioned in the notes of an Egyptian traveller of the time of Rameses II[1], some centuries later.

the oak: R. V. marg., 'terebinth of Moreh.' 'Moreh' is probably 'soothsayer,' and 'the oak of Moreh' was one of those sacred trees so often mentioned by the O. T. in connexion with sanctuaries. This tree stood within the precincts of the sanctuary of Shechem, and its title 'Oak of the Soothsayer' suggests that there was an oracle belonging to it.

the Canaanite was then in the land. The simplest explanation of this clause is that it was written when the Canaanites no longer occupied this district, i. e. long after the Conquest.

7. the LORD appeared unto Abram . . . and there builded he an altar. No doubt the priests of the sanctuary at Shechem were in the habit of telling the story of the appearance of Yahweh to Abram under the sacred tree, and of the altar built by the patriarch. Abram may have been regarded as the founder of the sanctuary; at any rate its claim to be a sacred place partly depended on its connexion with him.

8. Beth-el = 'House of God,' so called as being a sanctuary; situated in Central Palestine, near the border line between Benjamin and Ephraim, at or near the site of the modern *Beitin*. According to xxviii. 19 (which see) Beth-el was originally called Luz, and received the name Beth-el from Jacob, so also xxxv. 7. Judges i. 23 would rather suggest that Luz received the name Beth-el after its capture by the tribe of Joseph. All these passages would imply that Beth-el was made a sanctuary by the Israelites[2]. No mention of Beth-el or Luz is cited from the inscriptions older than the settlement of Israel in Canaan. Beth-el is frequently

[1] *The Travels of a Mohar*, c. B. C. 1300. So Muller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 394.

[2] It has, however, been suggested that Luz also meant sanctuary Winckler, ap. 'Beth-el' (Cheyne), *Encycl. Bibl.* If so the change of name would indicate that an old Canaanite sanctuary was appropriated by the Israelites and adapted to the worship of Yahweh.

the west, and Ai on the east: and there he builded an altar unto the LORD, and called upon the name of the
9 LORD. And Abram journeyed, going on still toward the South.
10 And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine was
11 sore in the land. And it came to pass, when he was

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mentioned in the history and the prophets as an Israelite sanctuary; it was the more important of the two temples at which Jeroboam placed his golden calves, and is spoken of in Amos vii. 13 as a royal temple.

Ai: probably *Haiyan*, about two miles east of Beth-el, separated from it by a ravine. In Joshua viii. 9 Joshua places an ambush 'between Beth-el and Ai, westward of Ai.'

called upon the name of: worshipped.

9. toward the South: i.e. the *Negeb* or southern district of Judah.

xii. 10–xiii. 2. ABRAM IN EGYPT (J).

10. Owing to a famine Abram goes to Egypt.

11–13. He arranges that Sarai should call herself his sister, lest the Egyptians should kill him in order to gain possession of her.

14–16. On account of her beauty Sarai is taken into Pharaoh's harem, and Pharaoh bestows great gifts on Abram.

17–xiii. 2. Yahweh plagues Pharaoh and his court on account of Sarai, and Pharaoh sends Abram out of Egypt.

Comparison with similar narratives. The same story in all its essential features is told of Abram, Sarah and Abimelech, king of Gerar, in the Elohistic Document, xx, and of Isaac, Rebekah, and Abimelech, king of Gerar, in the Primitive Document (J) in xxvi. 1–11. The three passages are probably versions of the same story. The religious interest of the passage lies in the care which Yahweh takes of His people when they seem to be helpless in a foreign land. There is nothing to show that the writer approved or admired Abram's deceit; on the other hand, we may perhaps see some sign of disapproval in the fact that the patriarch's crooked policy involved him in difficulties from which he had to be rescued by special Divine intervention.

10. into Egypt, a great grain-producing country, and so a natural refuge in time of famine; there would be 'corn in Egypt' if anywhere. So Jacob sends to Egypt for corn in a time of famine.

come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai
his wife, Behold now, I know that thou art a fair woman
to look upon: and it shall come to pass, when the 12
Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his
wife: and they will kill me, but they will save thee alive.
Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may be well 13
with me for thy sake, and that my soul may live because
of thee. And it came to pass, that, when Abram was 14
come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that
she was very fair. And the princes of Pharaoh saw her, 15
and praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken
into Pharaoh's house. And he entreated Abram well 16
for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-
asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she-asses,

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11. a fair woman. According to the Priestly Document, xvii. 17, Sarai was 90 when Abram was 100; and Abraham was 75, xii. 4, when he left Haran; so that at this time Sarai must have been at least 65. Many ingenious reasons have been devised why Sarai at 65 should have been so beautiful as to make Abram think that the Egyptians would kill him for her sake. The obvious explanation is that the statement about her age and this story come from different documents.

13. my sister, cf. xi. 29, xx. 12.

my soul may live. 'My soul' is an emphatic way of saying 'I.'

15. Pharaoh, the usual title of the kings of Egypt in the Old Testament. It is commonly explained as representing the Egyptian title for the king *per-'o*, 'Great house, palace,' cf. 'Sublime Porte,' for the Sultan of Turkey or his government.

16. entreated Abram well, e. g. gave him presents, such as are enumerated in the rest of the verse.

menservants and maidservants, male and female slaves; these are curiously placed between the 'he-asses' and 'she-asses.' Perhaps the slaves are a later insertion, or the order of the words has been accidentally altered in copying. The absence of horses from this list is consistent with the fact that, as far as our present information goes, horses were not used in Egypt before B.C. 1800, and this chapter probably refers to an earlier period. On the other hand the mention of the camel seems to be an anachronism;

17 and camels. And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and his
house with great plagues because of Sarai Abram's wife.
18 And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What is this that
thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not tell me
19 that she was thy wife? Why saidst thou, She is my
sister? so that I took her to be my wife: now therefore
20 behold thy wife, take her, and go thy way. And Pharaoh

we are told[1], 'The camel does not appear in any inscription or picture before the Greek period,' centuries later, 'and even under Rameses III,' also much later, 'the donkey is still expressly mentioned as the beast of burden of the desert[2].' The omission of the horse is probably not due to any archaeological knowledge on the part of the author, but rather to the rarity of horses amongst the Israelites in early times. Possibly, however, the editor may have omitted 'horses'; Deut. xvii. 16 forbids the king to multiply horses from Egypt; and it was not well that Abram should set the king a bad example.

17. plagues: a foreshadowing of the Ten Plagues at the time of the Exodus.

19. I took her to be my wife, i. e. one of the royal harem. There is nothing to indicate that the words are to be taken in any but their full sense. In the parallel narratives this feature is altered, and the story is told so that it is clear that neither Sarah nor Rebekah actually became the wife of a heathen king[3]. Erman[4] tells us that 'an ancient sacred [Egyptian] book, describing the life of the deceased Pharaoh in bliss, assures him . . . that in heaven he will "at his pleasure take the wives away from their husbands."' Theoretically, even in this life, 'according to ancient ideas, all the wives of his subjects were his'; we are further told that, 'Besides the chief royal consort, and other consorts, the Pharaoh possessed a harem[5].'

go thy way: leave the country. Verse 20 and xiii. 2 seem to imply that Abram was allowed to retain the presents he had received.

[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., p. 493.

[2] A picture of the impression of a seal from Nubia, described 'as the only known Egyptian representation of a camel,' is given in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxiv. 309; but the note does not mention the period to which the seal is supposed to belong.

[3] Gen. xx. 6, xxvi. 8.

[4] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., p. 155.

[5] Erman, *ibid.*, p. 73 f.

gave men charge concerning him: and they brought him on the way, and his wife, and all that he had.

13 And Abram went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the South.
2 And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold.
3 And he went on his journeys from the South even to Beth-el, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between Beth-el and Ai; unto the place of
4 the altar, which he had made there at the first: and there Abram called on the name of the LORD.
5 And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents. [P] And the land was not able to bear them, that
6 they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. [J] And there was
7 a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the

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20. charge concerning him . . . brought him on the way. Pharaoh instructed his officers to escort Abram safely out of Egypt, and the instructions were carried out.

xiii. 1. **South**: see xii. 9.

xiii. 3–18. THE SEPARATION OF ABRAM AND LOT (J and P). This section is important, because it preserves a tradition that the Hebrew tribes, shortly after their arrival in Canaan, broke up into two groups. One of these (Abram) became nomads in Western Palestine, the other (Lot, Moab, Ammon) settled in cities in Eastern Palestine.

xiii. 3–5. Primitive Document. *Abram and Lot return to Beth-el.*

3. from the South even to Beth-el: retracing the route by which he had gone to Egypt, cf. xii. 8, 9.

6. Priestly Document. *Abram and Lot too rich in flocks and herds to live together.*

6. not able to bear them: i. e. to furnish water and pasture for their numerous flocks and herds.

xiii. 7–11 *a*[1]. Primitive Document. *The herdmen quarrel. Abram allows Lot to choose, and Lot takes the Plain of Jordan.*

7. strife between the herdmen: probably about the water,

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[1] As far as 'journeyed east.'

herdmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite and the
8 Perizzite dwelled then in the land. And Abram said
unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between
me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herd-
9 men; for we are brethren. Is not the whole land before
thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if *thou*
wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if
10 *thou take* the right hand, then I will go to the left. And
Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the Plain of Jordan,
that it was well watered every where, before the LORD
destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the garden of the

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cf. verse 10; the quarrels of Isaac's herdmen with the men of Gerar about the wells, xxvi. 15 ff.; and the way in which the shepherds drove the daughters of the priest of Midian from the wells, Exod. ii. 17. Wells are still a common subject of contention amongst Arab tribes.

and the Canaanite and the Perizzite, &c. Cf. xii. 6. The presence of these settled inhabitants would increase the difficulty of providing for the cattle. The Perizzites are sometimes regarded as the name of a tribe, apparently from this passage, dwelling about Beth-el, and perhaps belonging to the aboriginal population older than the Semitic Canaanites; and sometimes as the inhabitants of the *perazoth* or open villages, as distinguished from the dwellers in towns.

8. brethren: kinsfolk.

9. Is not the whole land before thee? Abram speaks from the point of view of the nomad—'the whole land' refers only to the unoccupied country where they could pasture their cattle without interfering with the settled population.

if thou wilt take **the left hand,** &c. As the demand for separation came from Abram, he offered Lot the choice of country, in accordance with the profuse but somewhat conventional courtesy of the East.

10. Plain, R. V. marg., 'Circle of the Jordan,' the plain into which the valley of the Jordan widens out at the north of the Dead Sea.

well watered, &c. Perhaps the author dwells on the desirability of the district in order to emphasize the generosity of Abram and the grasping nature of Lot. Oriental etiquette does not countenance a prompt acceptance of munificent offers in a literal sense.

Sodom and Gomorrah. Cf. x. 19, xix.

LORD, like the land of Egypt, as thou goest unto Zoar.
So Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan; and Lot 11
journeyed east: [P] and they separated themselves the
one from the other. Abram dwelled in the land of 12
Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the Plain,
[J] and moved his tent as far as Sodom. Now the men 13
of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the LORD

the garden of the LORD: Eden.

Egypt: always celebrated for its great fertility.

as thou goest unto Zoar. Probably this clause came originally immediately after 'every where,' the intervening words being editorial notes added afterwards. The clause would then mean 'as far as Zoar.' Zoar is usually mentioned, as here, in connexion with Sodom and Gomorrah[1]. Zoar is usually located at the south-east end of the Dead Sea; and, if this is correct, the author's idea seems to be that before the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah the Dead Sea did not exist, but that a well-watered plain extended over the whole area as far as this Zoar. In Deut. xxxiv. 3, Moses, surveying the Promised Land, is shown 'the Plain of the valley of Jericho . . . unto Zoar.' The phrase suggests that Zoar was north of the Dead Sea, but it may be a reminiscence of our passage in its original form.

Some texts of the Syriac Version read 'Zoan' for Zoar. If this were correct, 'as thou goest to Zoan' would qualify 'in the land of Egypt.' Zoan or Tanis was an important Egyptian city in the Delta, on one of the branches of the Nile.

xiii. 11 *b*, 12 *a*[2]. Priestly Document. *Separation of Abram and Lot.*

xiii. 12 *b*[3]–18. Primitive Document. *The wickedness of the men of Sodom. Yahweh's promise to Abram; Abram settles at Mamre.* For 14–17 see also on 18.

13. the men of Sodom were wicked: a not unusual combination of material prosperity and moral corruption. So Agur prayed that he might not be given riches, 'Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is Yahweh?[4]' This verse prepares the way for the account of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah in chapter xix.

sinners against the LORD: not through idolatry or the

[1] So Gen. xiv. 2, 8, xix. 23–30, which see. Zoar is mentioned separately, Deut. xxxiv. 3, Isa. xv. 5, Jer. xlviii. 34.

[2] From 'and they separated' to 'cities of the Plain.'

[3] From 'and moved his tent.'

[4] Prov. xxx. 8, 9.

14 exceedingly. And the LORD said unto Abram, after that
Lot was separated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and
look from the place where thou art, northward and south-
15 ward and eastward and westward: for all the land which
thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed for ever.
16 And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so
that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then
17 shall thy seed also be numbered. Arise, walk through
the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for
18 unto thee will I give it. And Abram moved his tent,
and came and dwelt by the oaks of Mamre, which are in
Hebron, and built there an altar unto the LORD.

worship of 'other gods,' but, as chapter xix shows, through gross immorality. Our author thinks of such sins, even when committed by Gentiles, as sins against Yahweh; just as he speaks of Nimrod as a mighty hunter 'before Yahweh.' Thus even in the Primitive Document Yahweh's activity and authority are not altogether limited to Israel.

14. the LORD said unto Abram. Lot had taken an unfair advantage of Abram's generosity, and left him with the worst of the bargain. Yahweh chooses this moment to renew His promise.

the place where thou art. See verse 3.

15. all the land which thou seest. Dean Stanley[1] described the view thus: 'To the east there rises in the foreground the jagged range of the hills above Jericho; in the distance the dark wall of Moab; between them lies the wide valley of the Jordan. . . . To the south and the west the view commanded the bleak hills of Judaea, varied by the heights crowned with what were afterwards the cities of Benjamin, and overhanging what in a later day was to be Jerusalem, and in the far distance the southern range on whose slope is Hebron. Northward are the hills which divide Judaea from the rich plains of Samaria.' We must not, however, suppose that the promise is to be limited to what could actually be seen from the neighbourhood of Beth-el, it was no doubt a poetic way of describing the whole of the Promised Land. Cf. below.

17. walk through the land: to survey it more closely and thoroughly, and perhaps also, in a fashion, to take possession of it.

the oaks, R. V. marg., 'terebinths of Mamre.' Sacred trees

[1] *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 218.

[?] And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king 14

in the sanctuary which local tradition claimed to have been founded by Abram, see on xii. 7. Josephus speaks of a large terebinth near Hebron as old as the world; and the church historian Sozomen, c. A.D. 450, says that this terebinth was the scene of a yearly feast and fair[1]. The exact position of Mamre is not known.

Hebron: in the highlands of Judah to the south of Jerusalem. The succeeding chapters[2] imply that Abram settled for some time at Mamre; and nothing is said anywhere of his walking through the length and breadth of the land. Hence verses 14–17 are often regarded as a later insertion.

xiv. The Rescue of Lot. (*Unknown Source.*)

1–12. Four kings from the East defeat the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and their allies, spoil their cities, and carry Lot captive.

13–16. Abram pursues and defeats the invaders, rescues Lot, and recovers the plunder.

17. The king of Sodom meets Abram.

18–20. Melchizedek, king of Salem, meets Abram, and blesses him. Abram pays him tithes.

21–24. Abram refuses the offer of the king of Salem that he should retain the plunder he had recovered.

(*a*) *Archaeology.* In this chapter we again come in contact with Babylonian records, not, as heretofore, with mythology, but with history. We may regard it as certain that Chedorlaomer and his allies[3] were actual historical personages; that Elam at one period was the dominant power in the lands east of the Euphrates, as implied in verses 5, 9, and 17; and that, in the same period, the dominant power in those Eastern lands claimed and sometimes exercised a certain supremacy in Palestine, which was enforced occasionally by such warlike expeditions as the one described here. It is also not improbable that the four Eastern kings mentioned here were contemporaries, and that Elam was the dominant power in their time. So far the inscriptions confirm this chapter, but no further.

No inscription at present published mentions a joint expedition of these four Eastern kings against Palestine, or any expedition against Sodom, Gomorrah, and the allied towns, or indeed any expedition which can possibly be identified with the campaign described in this chapter. Nor does any inscription mention Abram, Lot, or Melchizedek.

Hence archaeology by itself does not at present establish the

[1] 'Mamre,' *Encycl. Bibl.*

[2] Gen. xiv. 13, xviii. 1.

[3] Cf. notes on the separate verses.

of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of

historicity of the whole chapter. It is true, as we have said, that certain kings mentioned here are shown to be historical personages; but we cannot therefore conclude that the whole account is accurate history, any more than we can argue that Sir Walter Scott's *Anne of Geierstein* is throughout a correct account of actual events because we know that Charles the Bold and Margaret of Anjou were real people.

(*b*) *Source.* Critics are agreed that this chapter does not belong to any one of the main sources of the Pentateuch. In the Primitive, the Elohistic, and the Priestly Documents, Abram is a peaceful wanderer; and in J and E he owes much of his wealth to the gifts of heathen kings, Pharaoh and Abimelech [1]; here he is a mighty warrior who disdains the offers of the king of Sodom, lest he should say, 'I have made Abram rich.' These documents show no trace of any acquaintance with this episode; and our chapter has none of the characteristic ideas and language of the documents, only there are some of the terms of the Priestly Document, probably due to the final editor, who writes very much in the style of a Priestly author.

Accordingly we must suppose that the Editor met with this chapter as a separate, independent narrative; and inserted it here as its most suitable place.

(*c*) *Origin and Character of the Narrative.* The archaeological evidence is not conclusive on these questions, but leaves ample room for differences of opinion, so that scholars hold widely divergent views on the subject.

As 'Hebrew' is not commonly used of Israelites by themselves, but only by foreigners, the application of this term to Abram [2] may indicate that the narrative was originally written by a non-Israelite. Accordingly it has been suggested that the narrative may be derived from some Canaanite record, possibly preserved in the archives of Jerusalem. Such a view would be a possible way of accounting for the details about Abram and Melchizedek, and would not be inconsistent with the presence of terms and details [3] which seem to belong to the latest period of Biblical Literature—these may be due to an editor [4].

On the other hand, it is possible that the information about Elam, &c., was derived from Babylonian records during or after the exile, and combined with some traditions as to Abram and Melchizedek. Thus it has been suggested [5] that the chapter includes material from Babylonian, Israelite, and Canaanite sources. Scholars are divided as to the historical value of the

[1] Gen. xii. 16, xx. 14. [2] Verse 13.
[3] See for instance on verse 14. [4] Cf. above. [5] Gunkel.

Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, that they made war with 2

chapter. Some are inclined to accept it as substantially a record of facts; others find little or nothing historical beyond the names of the Four Kings; while others occupy positions intermediate between these extremes.

The section about Melchizedek, verses 18–20, is often regarded as a later addition. It interrupts the connexion; verse 21 seems to be the immediate continuation of verse 17; cf. the notes on this section.

1. Amraphel: usually identified with *Hammurabi*, a Babylonian king known to us from the inscriptions. Numerous letters and inscriptions of Hammurabi have been discovered, including forty-six dispatches (inscribed tablets of baked clay) to a high official or tributary prince. 'Hammurabi,' we are told[1], 'is already known, from the date on a Babylonian contract, to have succeeded in defeating the Elamites in the course of his reign, and this fact would not be inconsistent with his having been Chedorlaomer's ally during the earlier part of his reign, to which period the narrative in Gen. xiv would, on this assumption, be referred.' It is a little curious that in this list Amraphel is mentioned first, whereas in the rest of the chapter Chedorlaomer is either placed first or is the only name mentioned. Hammurabi is usually dated between B.C. 2300 and B.C. 2200, whereas the Biblical statements would fix the date of Abram about B.C. 1900. As, however, these chronological statements represent late theories and not ancient tradition, they are not a serious difficulty in the way of the identification of Amraphel and Hammurabi[2]. Cf. further on Chedorlaomer.

Shinar. See on x. 10.

Arioch king of Ellasar: usually identified with *Rim-sin* or *Eri-aku* son of *Kudur-mabug*, a king of Larsa of Elamite descent, contemporary of Hammurabi. Names bearing some similarity to Arioch, Tidal, and Chedorlaomer have been found on a cuneiform tablet written not earlier than the fourth century B.C.[3], i. e. about 1800 years after the time of Hammurabi. This tablet may be a copy from older records. In Dan. ii. 15 we meet with a Babylonian courtier called Arioch. In Judith i. 6 an 'Arioch king of the Elymaeans' appears in alliance with 'Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned over the Assyrians in Nineveh.'

[1] L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, I. xxvii.

[2] Neither the identification nor the date are certain. Hommel, for instance, sacrifices the Babylonian data to the Biblical, and places Hammurabi about B.C. 1900. Holzinger makes him still later, B.C. 1700–1650.

[3] King, *ibid.*

Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah,

Ellasar: the *Larsa* of the inscriptions, the modern Senkereh, on the east bank of the Euphrates in Southern Babylonia, in the time before Hammurabi's victories over Elam, an Elamite dependency, ruled by an Elamite dynasty.

Chedorlaomer. This name has not yet been found in the inscriptions, but it is composed of two elements, each of which is known from the inscriptions to be Elamite. Chedor = *Kudur*, which according to Sayce means 'servant,' and occurs in the names of the Elamite kings, *Kudur-mabuk*, and *Kudur-nanhundi*. Laomer (in the Septuagint *Logomor*) = *Lagamar*, an Elamite deity. It was at one time supposed that *Kudur-lagamar* could be read in one of Hammurabi's letters[1], but this has been shown to be a mistake[2]. The late post-exilic tablet mentioned above under Arioch contains a name *Ku-ku-ku-mal* or *Ku-ku-ku-ku-mal*, which might be read as *Ku-dur-ku-mal* or *Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal*[3], and has sometimes been supposed to be a form of *Kudur-lagamar*. The position of the question may be summed up thus, 'So far as the composition of the name is concerned, therefore, there is no reason why the inscriptions should not contain a reference to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. Moreover, Elam at the period of the First Dynasty was the chief foe of Babylonia, and, until finally defeated by Hammurabi, had for many years been the predominant power in Western Asia. The state of affairs at this period, therefore, may without difficulty be harmonized with the events described in Gen. xiv, and it would not be surprising if the name of *Kudur-Lagamar*, or Chedorlaomer, should be found as that of a king of Elam in an inscription of the Old Babylonian period. Up to the present time, however, no such discovery has been made[4].'

Elam. See on x. 22.

Tidal: Septuagint *Thargal*, not yet discovered in the inscriptions. In the late tablet mentioned in the previous notes there is a *Tu-ud-hul-a* son of *Gaz* . . .[5], sometimes supposed to be Tidal. But as this name occurs in company with others that are historical, we may believe that this name also is that of an actual person, and may at any time be discovered in some ancient inscription.

Goiim may be read as a proper name, or, as in R. V. marg., a common noun, 'nations.' It is probably a case where an un-

[1] So Scheil, Hommel, &c. [2] King, *Letters, &c.*, I. xxvi. ff.
[3] King, *ibid.* I. liv. f.
[4] King, *ibid.* lvi. Holzinger, however, as a consequence of the late date he assigns to Hammurabi, maintains that the situation implied in Gen. xiv cannot be reconciled with the history.
[5] The end of the word is illegible.

Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (the same is Zoar). All these joined 3
together in the vale of Siddim (the same is the Salt Sea).
Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the 4
thirteenth year they rebelled. And in the fourteenth 5
year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with

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familiar foreign name has been given the form of a well-known native word; as with us Boulogne Gate became 'Bull and Gate.' *Goiim* is often identified with *Gutium*, Kurdistan, to the north of Babylonia.

2. they made war with . . . king of Sodom, &c. Verses 4 and 5 tell us that these kings were tributary to Chedorlaomer for twelve years, that then they rebelled, and Chedorlaomer assembled his allies or dependent princes and marched westward to subdue the rebels; cf. Hezekiah and Sennacherib, Zedekiah and Nebuchadnezzar. No inscription mentioning these proceedings of the Elamite king and his allies has yet been published; but as Hammurabi claims to be king of *Amurru*, i. e. probably Syria and Palestine, we can easily believe that the Elamites, his predecessors in the supremacy of Western Asia, levied tribute from Syria, and had occasion to collect it by force of arms.

Bera . . . Birsha . . . Shinab . . . Shemeber. None of these names are now extant anywhere else, but it is quite probable that the author of this chapter found them in ancient records.

Sodom, &c. For the five cities see on x. 19, xiii. 10. Bela, as a name of Zoar, only occurs here and in verse 8. The name of its king is omitted, perhaps we should read 'Bela, king of Zoar.'

3. All these joined together: i.e. the five kings, of Sodom, &c., made the vale of Siddim their rendezvous. The very improbable R. V. marg. 'All these gathered themselves together against the vale of Siddim' would mean that Chedorlaomer and his allies united in order to attack the vale of Siddim. In either case this verse comes in very awkwardly, it anticipates verse 8, and may be a later addition.

the vale of Siddim (the same is the Salt Sea). The vale of Siddim is only mentioned in this chapter. The author of this verse supposed that the district of Sodom, &c., which is called in this chapter the vale of Siddim, had been submerged by the waters of the Salt (Dead) Sea, cf. on chapter xix.

4. Cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 'Jehoiakim became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him.'

served, paid tribute.

5. in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer. Cf. 2 Kings

him, and smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in Shaveh-kiriathaim,

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xviii. 13, 'in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib . . . come up.' The account of Chedorlaomer's campaign bears some general resemblance to that of Holofernes in Judith ii. 21–28.

5, 6. Rephaim . . . Zuzim . . . Emim . . . Horites. These tribes are referred to in Deut. ii. 10–12, 20, 21 as aboriginal inhabitants of the territories afterwards held by Edom, Moab, and Ammon; so that our narrative is consistent with *Deuteronomy* in placing these tribes in the land before the birth of Edom, Moab, and Ammon. The passages in *Deuteronomy* however are archaeological notes by an exilic or post-exilic writer, so that an author of that late period would have thought of the Rephaim, &c., as inhabiting Eastern Palestine in the time of Abraham. The Zuzim are called in *Deuteronomy* 'Zamzummim.' The Emim and the Zuzim or Zamzummim are only mentioned in these two passages; the Horites are also referred to in Gen. xxxvi. 20–29, and may have been the original inhabitants of the cave-dwellings found at Petra and elsewhere in the mountains of Edom.

Ashteroth-karnaim, only mentioned here, possibly the same as *Ashtaroth*, the capital of Og, king of Bashan[1]; and also the same as *Carnaim* or *Carnion* in *Amos* and the *Books of Maccabees*[2]. Eusebius and Jerome mention two places in Bashan known in their time as *Ashteroth-karnaim*. There have been found in Bashan two sites *Tell 'Ashtarah* and *Tell el'Ash'ari*, one or other of which may be the city of the Rephaim. At any rate this place was in Bashan. The name signifies Ashtaroth or Astarte of the Two Horns; the latter either referring to the form under which the goddess was represented, or to two hills on which the city was built. The name implies that the city possessed a famous sanctuary of Astarte.

Ham. The Hebrew initial of this word is different from that of Ham, the son of Noah. This place is not mentioned elsewhere; the name may be a corruption, hardly however of Ammon.

Shaveh-kiriathaim, R. V. marg., 'the plain of Kiriathaim.' Kiriathaim is 'the Two Towns'; there was a city of this name in Moab, north of the Arnon, said to have been built by the Reubenites[3].

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[1] Deut. i. 4, &c.

[2] In Amos vi. 13 we should probably read 'Karnaim' where R. V. has 'horns.' Cf. 1 Macc. v. 26, &c.; 2 Macc. xii. 21.

[3] Num. xxxii. 37.

and the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-paran, which 6
is by the wilderness. And they returned, and came to 7
En-mishpat (the same is Kadesh), and smote all the
country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that
dwelt in Hazazon-tamar. And there went out the king 8

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6. in their mount Seir. This curious phrase is probably due to corruption of the text. We should either read 'in the mountains of Seir' with the Septuagint and other ancient versions, or 'in their mount'—'Seir' having been added as an explanatory note. Seir is the mountainous district to the south-east of the Dead Sea; the name is often used to denote the whole territory of Edom.

El-paran: also known as *Elath*, the port at the northern extremity of the eastern horn of the Red Sea, the gulf of Akaba.

the wilderness: between Canaan and Egypt.

7. they returned: better 'turned.' So far they had marched through Eastern Palestine from the north, almost due southwards to the southernmost point of what was afterwards the territory of Edom. Having reached the sea, they turned to the north-west.

En-mishpat (the same is Kadesh). *En-mishpat* = 'Well of Judgement,' *Kadesh* = 'Sanctuary,' and as there were many sanctuaries the name occurs in several different localities. This Kadesh is Kadesh-barnea on the south-east frontier of Judah. After leaving Sinai the Israelites made this place their head quarters for some time[1]. The double name given here indicates that Kadesh was a sanctuary whose priests or oracle were often referred to for the settlement of disputes. It is now identified with an *'Ain* (Well of) *Kadis* in the *Wady Kadis* in the district to the south-east of Judah.

country: R. V. marg. 'field of the Amalekites': a nomad people whose head quarters were usually the desert of Sinai. The Septuagint and Syriac versions have 'princes[2]' instead of 'field[3].'

Amorites. See on x. 16.

Hazazon-tamar. *Tamar* = palm. the meaning of *Hazazon* is uncertain. In 2 Chron. xx. 2, the only other passage where this place is mentioned, Hazazon-tamar is said to be En-gedi, which is identified with *'Ain-gidi*, about halfway down the western coast of the Dead Sea. In the neighbourhood of *'Ain-gidi* there is a *Wady Hasasa* which may preserve the name Hazazon. Having reached this point Chedorlaomer and his allies were near the Vale of Siddim, whether the Vale was the site of the Salt Sea, as in verse 3, or some part of it, or in its immediate neighbourhood.

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[1] Num. xiii, xxxiii; Deut. i. 46. [2] *Sarê*. [3] *Sadeh*.

of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (the same is Zoar); and they set the battle
9 in array against them in the vale of Siddim; against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ella-
10 sar; four kings against the five. Now the vale of Siddim was full of slime pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and they fell there, and they
11 that remained fled to the mountain. And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals,
12 and went their way. And they took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and
13 departed. And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew: now he dwelt by the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of
14 Aner; and these were confederate with Abram. And

10. Apparently some account of the battle has been omitted.

slime, R. V. marg. 'bitumen pits.' Cf. xi. 3.

the kings of Sodom: cf. on verse 17.

fell there: i. e. sank in the bitumen and were suffocated.

they that remained: perhaps the other three conquered kings.

11. they: i. e. Chedorlaomer and his allies.

the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah. Here, again, it would seem that some mention of the capture of these cities has been omitted. This verse clearly implies that they were sacked.

12. Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom. This explanation shows that the chapter was once an independent narrative. Both our documents have already told us that Lot was Abram's nephew, and that he had settled in Sodom.

13. Abram the Hebrew. Cf. (*c*) on p. 186.

oaks, R. V. marg. 'terebinths.'

Mamre ... Eshcol, in xiii. 18 (which see) and xxiii. 17, 19, &c.; and in Num. xiii. 23, 24, &c., the names of places near Hebron.

Aner: in 1 Chron. vi. 70 the name of a city in Manasseh. Similarly from the town Hebron the Priestly Document derives a person Hebron, the 'father' of the Hebronites[1]. If this chapter

[1] Num. iii. 19, 27, &c.

when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued as far as Dan. And 15 he divided himself against them by night, he and his servants, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah,

is historical, Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner are probably due to a misunderstanding on the part of a late editor, and do not belong to the ancient tradition. We are not told that these allies did anything; they only appear on the scene again to claim their share of the spoil[1].

14. led forth. The meaning of the Hebrew word thus translated is uncertain, but the context requires some such expression. The Septuagint has 'mustered.'

trained men: the word only occurs here, and means literally 'dedicated.'

born in his house: i. e. slaves born in Abram's household and not bought; such slaves have always been regarded as specially trustworthy.

three hundred and eighteen. If we take the numerical values of the consonants[2] of the name Eliezer[3], and add them together the sum is 318. It is difficult to believe that this is merely an accidental coincidence, or that the name Eliezer was invented for Abram's servant because its consonants gave this number. It is more likely that an ingenious and imaginative editor obtained the number from the consonants of Eliezer.

Dan: in the extreme north of Palestine, south of Mount Hermon. As this town was called Laish till it was conquered by the Danites[4] the name here is another trace of the work of a late editor.

15. divided himself against them: i. e. divided his followers into several bands, so that they might attack from different quarters, and so create the more confusion in the enemy, and give the impression of being a large force; cf. the tactics of Gideon[5].

servants: slaves.

smote them, and pursued them. Some scholars cannot bring themselves to believe that a handful of armed slaves could rout a force of disciplined soldiers of the great military powers of

[1] In verse 24.

[2] In ancient Hebrew only the consonants were written, the vowels were added after the beginning of the Christian Era.

[3] The only male servant of Abram who is mentioned by name (Gen. xv. 2).

[4] Judges xviii. 29.

[5] Judges vii.

16 which is on the left hand of Damascus. And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the people.
17 And the king of Sodom went out to meet him, after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the vale of Shaveh (the same
18 is the King's Vale). And Melchizedek king of Salem

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the East. But the discipline of these ancient soldiers was hardly on a level with that of a modern English or German regiment; eastern armies have always been specially subject to panic; and a night attack is peculiarly trying to the nerves.

Hobah: not mentioned elsewhere in the Bible. The Amarna tablets speak of Damascus as 'in the land of Ubi'; and Hobah is sometimes identified with a site where there is now a spring called *Hoba*, about twenty hours north-west of Damascus on the road to Palmyra.

left hand: i. e. as R. V. marg. 'north,' so the south is 'the right hand'; the east, the 'front'; the west, 'behind.'

Damascus: an important political and commercial city from the earliest times known to history. It is mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions of the time of Thothmes III (sixteenth century B. C.) and Rameses II (twelfth century B. C.), and in the Amarna tablets.

17. the king of Sodom. According to verse 10 the king of Sodom had been killed; but this verse may refer to his successor.

the vale of Shaveh (the same is the King's Vale). Shaveh = 'plain,' cf. verse 5, but here it is a proper name. The vale of Shaveh is not mentioned elsewhere; but the King's Vale is mentioned in 2 Sam. xviii. 18 as the place where Absalom had set up a monument to himself. The site has not been identified; but somewhere near Jerusalem would suit both passages.

18. Melchizedek king of Salem . . . priest of God Most High. Melchizedek is only mentioned here and in Ps. cx. 4 and Heb. v-vii. Ps. cx is ascribed to David by its title, but is commonly regarded as of much later origin, and is often assigned to the period of the Maccabees. In *Hebrews* the phrase in the Psalm, 'a high-priest after the order of Melchizedek,' is applied to Christ; and so Melchizedek and all the details of this episode have been regarded as typical of Christ. The statements in *Hebrews* that Melchizedek was 'without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of

brought forth bread and wine: and he was priest of God

life[1],' merely mean that the Scriptures do not mention his ancestors, parents, birth, or death. In the same way Philo speaks of Sarah as 'without mother[2],' because her mother is not named. Thus the late Professor A. B. Davidson wrote of Melchizedek, 'He passes over the stage, a king, a priest, living. That sight of him is all that we ever get. This is what Scripture shows us. . . . He is like a portrait, having always the same qualities, presenting always the same aspect, looking down on us always with the same eyes which turn and follow us, wherever we may stand—always royal, always priestly, always living, always individual, and neither receiving nor imparting what he is, but being all in virtue of himself[3].'

Melchizedek is explained in *Hebrews* as 'king of righteousness'; but if it is an ancient Canaanite name, *Melchi-* and probably *-zedek* are divine names or titles, thus 'Melek is righteousness'; 'Zedek is king,' or 'Melek is Zedek.' There are traces of a Canaanite deity *Sydyk*, and the name *Zedek-melek* has been found. In Joshua x. 1, &c., the king of Jerusalem is Adonizedek[4], and *Adon*, 'Lord,' is almost synonymous with *Melek*, 'king,' and is also a well-known divine name or title. No mention of Melchizedek has yet been found in the inscriptions[5].

In Philo 'Melchiezedek represents the power of rational persuasion which offers to the soul food of gladness and joy, and so in some sense answers to the priestly Logos[6].' It does not seem that Melchizedek was used as a type of the Messiah by any of the earlier rabbinical writers. Speculation has sought to make up for the silence of Scripture by suggesting that the mysterious king of Salem was Shem, or an incarnation of God the Son, or of the Holy Spirit.

The narrative in verses 18-20[7] may very well be based[8] on an account of some ancient Canaanite priest-king, whose shrine was regarded with exceptional reverence. Those who hold that the whole narrative is unhistorical would take Melchizedek, 'king of righteousness,' and king of Salem, 'king of peace,' as symbolical titles, very much as they are used in *Hebrews*.

Salem, Peace, probably intended for the name of a place,

[1] Heb. vii. 3. [2] Westcott on Heb. vii. 3.
[3] *Biblical and Literary Essays*, p. 188.
[4] In the Septuagint, and in Judges i. 5, &c. Adonibezek.
[5] Unsuccessful attempts have been made to discover his name, or parallels to the scriptural language used of him in the references to the King of Jerusalem in the Amarna tablets.
[6] Westcott, *Hebrews*, 201. [7] Cf. (*c*) p. 187.
[8] See on verse 19.

19 Most High. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be
Abram of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth:
20 and blessed be God Most High, which hath delivered

cf. previous note; usually identified with Jerusalem, which is called *Urusalim* in the Amarna tablets and Salem in Ps. lxxvi. 2; and Jerusalem might very well be on the route of an army returning from the north of Damascus, and would not be very far from the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, so that the kings might come so far to meet Abram. Jerome, however, identified Salem with a place *Salumias*, the modern *Sheikh Salim* in the Jordan valley, eight miles south of Scythopolis, about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee. Salem has also been identified with various other sites in Palestine which now bear the name *Salim*. The derivation of the name Jerusalem is not certainly known. It very probably contains a divine name; thus the Uru-salim of the Amarna tablets has been interpreted as 'the city of (the god) Salim.' Of course the Canaanite (Jebusite) Jerusalem contained a temple or temples and priests; but nothing outside this chapter has yet been discovered to show that any temple at Jerusalem possessed any exceptional importance before the times of David and Solomon.

bread and wine: royal hospitality, regarded by the Jews as symbols of the shewbread and the drink-offering, or even of the Law; and by Christian commentators as types of the elements of the Eucharist.

priest. The kings of Tyre were sometimes priests, and the Maccabean high-priests were also kings of Judah.

God Most High. Hebrew EL ELYON. *El Elyon* only occurs once[1] outside this chapter, but we find *Yahweh Elyon*[2], and *Elohim Elyon*[3], which may be corruptions of *El Elyon*. The simple *Elyon* occurs frequently as a divine name of the God of Israel, chiefly in the *Psalms*. *Elyon* is also common as an ordinary adjective = 'high.' To post-exilic Jews the use of this divine name would indicate that Melchizedek was priest of the true God—the Maccabees were called 'high-priests of God Most High.' In an ancient Canaanite narrative El Elyon would be a title or name of the local deity—*Elioun* occurs as a divine name amongst the Phoenicians. Cf. verse 22.

19. blessed: as priest.

God Most High, possessor (R. V. marg. 'maker') **of heaven and earth.** This description of *El Elyon* is most remarkable in the mouth of a Gentile like Melchizedek. It is true that there are stories of the Creation older than Hammurabi, but this

[1] Ps. lxxviii. 35. [2] Ps. vii. 17, xlvii. 2. [3] Ps. lvii. 2, lxxviii. 56.

thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him a tenth
of all. And the king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give 21
me the persons, and take the goods to thyself. And 22
Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up mine
hand unto the LORD, God Most High, possessor of heaven
and earth, that I will not take a thread nor a shoelatchet 23

phrase implies that the Gentile priests of Jerusalem believed in a creation of heaven and earth by one God, i. e. were monotheists. It was doubtless to avoid such a conclusion that some Jews held that Melchizedek was Shem. The phrase 'maker[1] of heaven and earth' is found in the Psalms[2]; and the idea of creation by God alone is emphasized in II Isaiah[3] and other exilic and post-exilic literature. Possibly the clause 'possessor, &c.,' is a later addition.

20. he gave him a tenth of all, probably as priest, so Heb. vii. 6. Abram thus acknowledged *El Elyon* as God, and Melchizedek as His priest. We shall see that the priests of the northern sanctuary of Beth-el could support *their* claim to tithes on the precedent that Jacob promised to pay tithes to their temple[4]. But the narrative here would provide the priests of Jerusalem with a still earlier precedent for the payment of tithes at Jerusalem. The difficulty that would have arisen if it had been acknowledged that Melchizedek was a Gentile was probably evaded, as in later times, by identifying him with Shem or some other ancestor of David. It has been suggested[5] that Psalm cx refers to some Davidic king who claimed to be the successor of Melchizedek, just as the German, Austrian, and Russian Emperors call themselves Caesars, as if they were the successors of the Roman Emperors; and as the Greek kings of Egypt styled themselves Pharaohs. The 'all' of which a tenth was given may be the recovered booty or Abram's own property. Probably the latter, especially if 17-20 is really a separate story.

21. And the king of Sodom said. These words are the natural continuation of verse 17.

the persons whom Abram might have retained or sold as slaves, or held to ransom.

22. the LORD, God Most High, &c. Expressly identifying El Elyon with Yahweh. The Samaritan text, however, has 'the *Elohim El Elyon*,' and the Septuagint omits 'Lord.'

23. I will not take, &c. In xii. 16 Abram accepts gifts from Pharaoh under false pretences, and these seem to be spoken of

[1] A different term from that used here. [2] Ps. cxxiv. 8, &c.
[3] Isa. xl. &c. [4] Gen. xxviii. 22. [5] Gunkel.

nor aught that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have
24 made Abram rich: save only that which the young men
have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with
me; Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, let them take their
portion.

15 [J(E)] After these things the word of the LORD came

as the source of Abram's wealth[1]; in xx. 14-16 Abram accepts gifts from Abimelech. There is, however, a difference; the 'goods' which are here offered to Abram had originally been the property[2] of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah.

24. save only that which, &c., R. V. marg. '*let there be* nothing for me; only that,' &c. There is no important difference in meaning between the two renderings. The margin makes Abram's refusal more emphatic. The whole chapter brings out the noble qualities of Abram—his prowess and courage, his generosity and magnanimity.

Aner, Eshcol, &c. Cf. verse 13. The order of the names is reversed.

xv. *The Covenant with Abram.* (A composite section of the work compiled from the Primitive (J) and the Elohistic (E) Documents[3].)

1-5. Yahweh in a vision promises to Abram a son and countless posterity.

6. Abram believes, and his faith is reckoned to him for righteousness.

7-11. Abram asks for a sign, and Yahweh bids him arrange the divided carcasses of animals according to the form of concluding a covenant.

12-16. Abram falls into a trance, and Yahweh announces to him the bondage in Egypt, the Exodus, and the conquest of Canaan.

17-21. 'A smoking furnace and a flaming torch' pass between the halves of the carcasses; and Yahweh covenants with Abram to give to his seed the land from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates.

Sources. In this chapter it is generally held that we meet with certain traces of the Elohistic Document[4]. The chapter in the form in which we have it is mainly the work of the editor, who combined the Primitive and the Elohistic Documents, though some small portions may be even later. We shall point

[1] Gen. xiii. 2, but cf. xii. 5.
[2] Verse 11.
[3] See pp. 9 ff., and cf. below (*a*) *Sources.*
[4] Pp. 30 ff.

unto Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram: I am
thy shield, *and* thy exceeding great reward. And Abram 2
said, O Lord GOD, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go
childless, and he that shall be possessor of my house is

out in the notes elements supposed to be Elohistic, and others attributed to the editor who combined the two[1]; but it is not possible to fix with certainty exactly which words belong to which source.

1. The word of the LORD came: a common formula in the prophets, especially in Jeremiah, Jer. i. 2, &c. The Elohistic Document (E)[2] speaks of Abram as a prophet; but would not speak of 'the Lord,' Yahweh.

in a vision. It is characteristic of E that revelations are made in visions or dreams.

Fear not. A vision of God would cause terror.

I am thy shield: a familiar idea in the Psalms[3].

and **thy exceeding great reward:** R. V. marg. 'thy reward shall be exceeding great.' The 'reward' would be for what is referred to in 'these things.' In the Primitive Document we have heard of Abram building altars to Yahweh and of his generosity to Lot.

2. O Lord GOD. 'Lord' here is not the Divine name, Yahweh, hence it is not printed in capitals in the English version, but a translation of *'Adonay*, lit. 'my lords,' used as a divine name, like the plural *Elohim*. It was thus used in other Semitic religions, hence the familiar Adonis, a Greek form of the name of a Syrian deity. God is printed in capitals because it represents the Divine name YHWH, written in the Hebrew MSS. with the vowels of Elohim, as a direction to the reader to read Elohim, and not to attempt to pronounce YHWH. Hence we should translate 'O Lord Yahweh.' The phrase, therefore, is different from the *Yahweh Elohim* of chapters ii, iii, which the English Version renders by 'LORD God[4].' The phrase *'Adonay Yahweh* is only found in the Pentateuch here and Deut. iii. 24, ix. 26, but is not uncommon elsewhere, especially in *Amos* and *Ezekiel*.

I go (R. V. marg. 'go hence') **childless.** The meaning is that suggested by R. V. marg. 'I go hence, out of this life, childless.' To the ancient Israelite the honour and prosperity of his children took the place which is filled for the modern Christian by anticipations of personal happiness in a future life.

he that shall be possessor of my house, &c.: i. e. my heir.

[1] RJE. [2] Gen. xx. 7.
[3] Ps. iii. 3, &c.; also Deut. xxxiii. 29. [4] Cf. on Gen. ii. 4.

3 Dammesek Eliezer? And Abram said, Behold, to me
thou hast given no seed: and, lo, one born in my house
4 is mine heir. And, behold, the word of the LORD came
unto him, saying, This man shall not be thine heir; but
he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be
5 thine heir. And he brought him forth abroad, and said,
Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be
able to tell them: and he said unto him, So shall thy
6 seed be. And he believed in the LORD; and he counted
7 it to him for righteousness. And he said unto him, I am
the LORD that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees, to
8 give thee this land to inherit it. And he said, O Lord
9 GOD, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it? And
he said unto him, Take me an heifer of three years old,
and a she-goat of three years old, and a ram of three

Failing a son or other natural heir, a favourite slave sometimes inherited, the slave being a member of the family and sharing in the religious rites of the family.

But the Hebrew of the latter half of the verse, as it stands, is unintelligible, because it has been incorrectly copied. It is not possible now to discover exactly what was originally written, but the Revised Version is probably a successful conjecture as to what the author must have meant.

Dammesek Eliezer. Cf. the preceding note. The Syriac Version has Eliezer the Damascene. Eliezer is only mentioned here, but cf. on xiv. 14. Eliezer and the closely similar Eleazar are the names of several persons in the Old Testament.

5. tell the stars. 'Tell' = 'count'; the vision was at night.

6. He believed in the LORD, &c. This is St. Paul's chief proof-text[1] for his doctrine of justification by faith. If Abram was counted righteous—justified—because he believed, long before the Mosaic Law existed, the observance of that Law could not be necessary to justification. St. James[2] connects this text with the obedience of Abram as the indispensable condition of living faith. The *Epistle to the Hebrews*[3] connects Abram's faith with the departure from Haran and the offering up of Isaac.

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[1] Rom. iv. 3; Gal. iii. 6. [2] Jas. ii. 23. [3] Heb. xi. 8, 17.

years old, and a turtledove, and a young pigeon. And 10
he took him all these, and divided them in the midst,
and laid each half over against the other: but the birds
divided he not. And the birds of prey came down upon 11
the carcases, and Abram drove them away. And when 12
the sun was going down, a deep sleep fell upon Abram;
and, lo, an horror of great darkness fell upon him. And 13
he said unto Abram, Know of a surety that thy seed
shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall
serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred

10. divided them in the midst, &c. This and the subsequent proceedings in this chapter are the ritual by which a covenant was concluded. So in Jer. xxxiv. 18 we read of a covenant made before Yahweh 'when they cut the calf in twain and passed between the parts thereof.' We read that when the Macedonian army in Asia mutinied after the death of Alexander the mutiny was put an end to by an agreement, and that, to ratify this, the contracting parties passed between the two halves of the carcass of a dog. The meaning of the ritual may be illustrated from the story of the Horatii and Curiatii. When the compact for their combat was being made the herald prayed that if Rome were false to the treaty Jupiter might smite Rome as the herald smote the pig, only more violently, in proportion to his greater power[1].

The animals enumerated are all such as could be offered in sacrifice.

12. when the sun was going down. It was already night in verses 1 and 5, and there is nothing to suggest that a day has intervened. This is another indication that the chapter has been compiled from two independent narratives, one of which (probably E) referred to the vision and the countless stars, and the other (probably J) to the setting sun in this verse.

a deep sleep: a supernatural trance. The Hebrew word is the same as that used for the deep sleep into which Adam was cast before his rib was shaped into Eve.

an horror of great darkness: a premonition of the coming manifestation of Yahweh.

13, 14. A prediction of the bondage in Egypt and the Exodus.

four hundred years: obviously a round number, probably

[1] *Livy*, i. 24, ap. Holzinger.

14 years; and also that nation, whom they shall serve, will
I judge: and afterward shall they come out with great
15 substance. But thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace;
16 thou shalt be buried in a good old age. And in the
fourth generation they shall come hither again: for the
17 iniquity of the Amorite is not yet full. And it came to
pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark,
behold a smoking furnace, and a flaming torch that

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derived from ancient tradition. In Exod. xii. 40 the period is given as 430 years; but the Septuagint alters the verse so as to make the 430 years the period from the arrival of Abram in Canaan to the Exodus; and this view seems to have been very widely held amongst the Jews in New Testament times. Besides the Septuagint it is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, in one passage of Josephus[1], and in Gal. iii. 17.

14. with great substance, possibly a reference to the 'spoiling of the Egyptians,' Exod. xii. 35, 36.

15. go to thy fathers in peace cannot mean here 'be buried with thy fathers,' for the 'fathers' were buried at Haran and Ur. The phrase may be merely conventional; or may refer to Abram joining his fathers in Sheol, the abode of the dead, where, according to the ideas of ancient Israel, the dead still existed in a dim, ghostlike half-life.

a good old age: 165 years, xxv. 7.

16. fourth generation: about 120 years, inconsistent with the 400 years of verse 13; another trace of compilation from independent narratives.

the Amorite: the Elohistic Document (E), of which this verse is a fragment, uses Amorite as a general term for the inhabitants of Canaan.

17. a smoking furnace and a flaming torch. Yahweh passes between the halves of the divided carcasses, and His presence is indicated by a lurid appearance of mingled smoke and fire; cf. Exod. xix. 18, 'Mount Sinai was altogether on smoke, because Yahweh descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace'; xxiv. 17, 'the appearance of the glory of Yahweh was like devouring fire'; Ps. xviii. 8:

> 'There went up a smoke out of his nostrils,
> And fire out of his mouth devoured.'

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[1] Elsewhere he follows the Hebrew text of Exod. xii. 40; Acts vii. 6 follows *Genesis*.

passed between these pieces. In that day the LORD 18
made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed
have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the
great river, the river Euphrates: the Kenite, and the 19
Kenizzite, and the Kadmonite, and the Hittite, and the 20
Perizzite, and the Rephaim, and the Amorite, and the 21
Canaanite, and the Girgashite, and the Jebusite.

18. the LORD made a covenant: Yahweh, by thus condescending to observe the ritual by which men ratified covenants, declared in the most emphatic way that He had entered into a solemn compact with Abram. The narrative, as so often in J, is anthropomorphic in form. The Hebrew translated 'made a covenant' is literally 'cut a covenant,' in reference to the ritual.

the river of Egypt must mean here what is commonly called the 'brook of Egypt,' the *Wady el Arish*, the boundary between Egypt and the desert south of Palestine.

19-21. This list is probably an insertion of a Deuteronomic editor[1]; it is unusually full—ten names—and yet, for the most part, it is confined to the peoples of Western Palestine, and omits those dwelling between the Jordan and the Euphrates. Cf. x. 15, 16.

19. Kenite: originally a nomad tribe of the south of Palestine, first allied with and afterwards absorbed in Israel. Probably in one tradition Cain, *Qayin*, was the eponymous ancestor of the Kenites, *Qeynî*.

Kenizzite: in xxxvi. 11, &c., Kenaz is a clan of Edom; in Joshua xv. 17 the ancestor of Caleb and Othniel; i. e. Kenaz is an Israelite clan. Either Kenaz was a clan of Southern Palestine, some families of which were absorbed in Edom, and some in Israel; or it was an Edomite clan, afterwards absorbed in Israel.

Kadmonite: 'the men of the East'; only here; but the *bnê-Kedem*, 'the children of the East,' appear in Judges vi. 3 as allies of Midian and Amalek. In a very obscure passage, Ezek. xxv. 3-11, they appear, as it seems, as enemies of Edom, Ammon, and Moab. Probably the Kadmonites were inhabitants of the eastern desert, cf. Kedemah, xxv. 15.

20. Hittite: see on Heth, x. 15.

Perizzite: see xiii. 7.

Rephaim: see xiv. 5.

21. Amorite ... Canaanite ... Girgashite ... Jebusite. See x. 15-20.

[1] See p. 13.

16 [P] Now Sarai Abram's wife bare him no children:
[J] and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name
2 was Hagar. And Sarai said unto Abram, Behold now,
the LORD hath restrained me from bearing; go in, I pray
thee, unto my handmaid; it may be that I shall obtain
children by her. And Abram hearkened to the voice
3 of Sarai. [P] And Sarai Abram's wife took Hagar the
Egyptian, her handmaid, after Abram had dwelt ten

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xvi. THE FLIGHT OF HAGAR. (Compiled from P and J. Cf. on chapter xxi.)

1 *a*[1]. Priestly Document. *Sarai childless.*

1 *b*, 2. Primitive Document. *Sarai, being childless, induces Abram to take Hagar as a concubine.*

1. an Egyptian whose name was Hagar. Hagar is the eponymous ancestress of the Hagrites or Hagarenes[2], who are coupled in Ps. lxxxiii with Edom, Moab, and Ishmael. The Hagarenes were a nomad Arab tribe, wandering in the deserts east of Jordan at the time when the later O. T. writers were acquainted with them. The statement that Hagar was an Egyptian would imply that this tribe, and possibly also Ishmael, originated in, or, at any rate, migrated at some time from Egypt. It is stated, however, that there was an Arabian state, occupying portions of Northern Arabia and Syria, called *Muçr*. The Hebrew word translated 'Egyptian' is *Miçrith*; and it is suggested[3] that this word means here 'woman of Muçr.' It is more natural to connect the Arabian tribes of Hagar and Ishmael with a district of Arabia than with Egypt.

2. The LORD hath restrained me. The O. T. recognizes the hand of God in *all* the events of nature and history, and does not limit the Divine activity to 'special providences.'

go in . . . unto my handmaid. Any female slave might be the concubine of her master; but slaves owned by a wife could only become concubines by her permission.

I shall obtain children by her, Hebrew: 'be builded by her.' Childlessness was a sore disgrace to an Israelite woman, and the suggested expedient would technically mitigate the shame.

3. Priestly Document. *Sarai induces Abram to take Hagar as a concubine.*

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[1] As far as 'children.'

[2] Ps. lxxxiii. 6; 1 Chron. v. 10, 19, 20, xxvii. 31; Baruch, iii. 23.

[3] Winckler, quoted with approval by Gunkel.

years in the land of Canaan, and gave her to Abram her husband to be his wife. [J] And he went in unto Hagar, 4 and she conceived: and when she saw that she had conceived, her mistress was despised in her eyes. And Sarai 5 said unto Abram, My wrong be upon thee: I gave my handmaid into thy bosom; and when she saw that she had conceived, I was despised in her eyes: the LORD judge between me and thee. But Abram said unto 6 Sarai, Behold, thy maid is in thy hand; do to her that which is good in thine eyes. And Sarai dealt hardly with her, and she fled from her face. And the angel of the 7 LORD found her by a fountain of water in the wilderness, by

4–8. Primitive Document. *Hagar conceives, and despises Sarai. Sarai complains to Abram, and chastises Hagar, who flees to the wilderness, where an angel appears to her.*

5. My wrong be upon thee: i. e. 'thou art responsible for the wrong done to me, and ought to suffer for it.' Sarai blames her husband for the consequences of what she herself had asked him to do, a phenomenon not unknown in monogamous households. The special features of the case, however, illustrate the drawbacks of polygamy.

6. do to her that which is good in thine eyes. As Hagar was Sarai's slave she was at the mercy of her mistress, and Abram could hardly interfere between them.

dealt hardly with her: Hebrew, 'humbled her,' probably a euphemism for corporal chastisement, cf. Exodus xxi. 20; according to Dillmann, however, Sarai humbled Hagar 'by her harsh manner and the imposition of hard work.'

7. the angel of the LORD. The term 'angel,' lit. 'messenger,' occurs here for the first time. These 'messengers' often appear in the form of men[1]; 'Nothing is said as to the origin of these beings, and attention is directed to their functions rather than their nature. . . . The Angel of Yahweh . . . is at one time identified with Yahweh, and at another distinguished from Him[2] . . . and is, therefore, almost rather a theophany or divine manifestation than a messenger[3].'

[1] Gen. xviii. 2, xix. 1.

[2] Cf. verse 13 and Judges vi. 11, 12, 20, 21 with 14, 16, 23, and xiii. 15–21 with 22, 23.

[3] W. H. Bennett, *Theology of the Old Testament*, pp. 107 f.

8 the fountain in the way to Shur. And he said, Hagar, Sarai's
handmaid, whence camest thou? and whither goest thou?
And she said, I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai.
9 [R] And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Return to thy
10 mistress, and submit thyself under her hands. And the
angel of the LORD said unto her, I will greatly multiply
thy seed, that it shall not be numbered for multitude.
11 [J] And the angel of the LORD said unto her, Behold,
thou art with child, and shalt bear a son; and thou shalt
call his name Ishmael, because the LORD hath heard thy
12 affliction. And he shall be *as* a wild-ass among men;
his hand *shall be* against every man, and every man's
hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of

Shur: the 'wilderness' between Egypt and Palestine, perhaps named after the *shôr* or 'wall,' the frontier fortifications of Egypt. Whether Hagar was an Egyptian or a Muṣrite she was on her way home.

9, 10. Editorial Addition. *The angel bids Hagar return to her mistress, and promises her a numerous posterity.* Originally the primitive (J) sections of this chapter narrated the final flight of Hagar; we are never told that Hagar went back. Verse 15, in which Hagar is found with Abram, belongs to P, which ignores the Flight. See below. Ch. xxi. 5-21 is the alternative account of the Flight of Hagar given by the Elohistic Document, which placed the event at a later stage of the history, see on xxi. Notice that each of the three verses 9, 10, 11 begins with 'the angel of Yahweh said,' though neither any reply of Hagar's, nor anything else, interrupts the angel's words.

11-14. Primitive Document. *The angel foretells the birth and mode of life of Ishmael. On account of the Theophany, Hagar names the well where the angel found her Beer-lahai-roi.*

11. Ishmael, because the LORD hath heard. Ishmael means 'God heareth': Ishmael is the eponymous ancestor of a large number of Arabian tribes.

affliction: lit. 'humbling,' the same root as the 'dealt hardly' in verse 6.

12. This verse is a vivid description of the life of the nomad Arabs, even in the present day.

in the presence of all his brethren: R. V. marg. 'over against' expresses the meaning more forcibly. His attitude would always be one of independent self-assertion, or even

all his brethren. And she called the name of the LORD 13
that spake unto her, Thou art a God that seeth: for
she said, Have I even here looked after him that seeth
me? Wherefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi; 14

defiance. The other R. V. marg. 'to the east of' is less likely; Ishmael was south-east rather than east of the other Abrahamic tribes.

brethren: kinsfolk. Ishmael's 'brothers' in the strict sense were Isaac and Abram's sons by Keturah, xxv. 1–4.

13. the LORD that spake unto her: note that the angel of Yahweh is here spoken of as Yahweh, cf. on verse 7.

Thou art a God that seeth, &c. R. V. marg., 'Thou God seest me'; the Hebrew for 'a God that seeth' is *El-roi*, which is apparently intended to mean 'God of seeing.' The Hebrew of this clause and of the rest of the verse is unintelligible as it stands. This clause can hardly be the original form of the Divine name, which was probably *El-roi* or *El-lahai-roi*, i. e. the well and the deity were once named after a place *Lahai-roi*, cf. below. But the story, as J told it, probably gave the name *El-roi*, 'God of Vision' or 'seeing,' i. e. 'Whom one may see and live.'

Have I even here looked after him that seeth me? unintelligible. A slight emendation[1] gives, 'Have I even seen God and survived?' The author must have written words intended to convey some such meaning. That a man should be suffered to see God and live was a mark of especial favour; thus Manoah said to his wife, 'We shall surely die, because we have seen God[2].'

14. Beer-lahai-roi. R. V. marg. 'i. e. The well of the living one who seeth me,' a meaning which does not suit the context. By a slight alteration we get the more suitable reading, 'Well of living' (i. e. continuing to live) 'after seeing' (God), which gives a sense obviously required by the previous verse.

In the story of Samson[3] we have a place called Lehi (jawbone); probably the '*lahai*' here was originally *lehi*, and *roi* an obsolete word, the name of some animal, perhaps an antelope. A hill might be called *Lehi-roi*, 'Jawbone of the antelope,' from its shape; hence the name of the neighbouring well, *Beer-lehi-roi*, and of the tutelary spirit of the well, *El-lehi-roi*. So in xxxv. 8 we have *El-beth-el*. Naturally the author of the Primitive Docu-

[1] Thus:—

Heb. Text	Hgm	hlm	r'ythy	'hry	r'y
Emendation	Hgm	h'lhym	r'ythy	w'hy	

so Ball, *Genesis*, in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*.

[2] Judges xiii. 22: cf. Gen. xxxii. 30; Ex. iii. 5, xix. 21, xxiv. 10, 11, xxxiii. 20; 1 Sam. vi. 19.

[3] Judges xv. 17–20.

15 behold, it is between Kadesh and Bered. [P] And Hagar
bare Abram a son: and Abram called the name of his
16 son, which Hagar bare, Ishmael. And Abram was four-
score and six years old, when Hagar bare Ishmael to
Abram.

17 And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, the
LORD appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am God
2 Almighty; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And

ment gives a more religious interpretation to the name and connects it with the incidents in the story of Hagar. Beer-lahai-roi was a sacred well, no doubt with a sanctuary attached. Its position is defined as 'between Kadesh and Bered,' i. e. in the wilderness to the south of Palestine. For Kadesh see on xiv. 7; Bered is not mentioned anywhere else, and its position is not known. Beer-lahai-roi is sometimes identified with *'Ain Muweileh*, twelve miles to the west of Kadesh.

15, 16. Priestly Document. *When Abram is eighty-six Hagar bears a son, whom Abram names Ishmael.*

15. Abram called the name of his son. The father names the child, cf. iv. 1, 17, 25; v. 3.

xvii. GOD'S COVENANT OF CIRCUMCISION WITH ABRAM. (Priestly Document)[1].

1–14. El-Shaddai appears to Abram; changes his name to Abraham; covenants to make him the ancestor of many nations and to give Canaan to his descendants; and ordains circumcision as the sign of the covenant.

15–22. God changes Sarai's name to Sarah, and promises that she shall have a son. Ishmael shall have a blessing of his own; but God's covenant is with Isaac, the son to be born to Sarah.

23–27. Abraham and all his household are circumcised.

1. the LORD, i. e. Yahweh. The presence of this name in the Priestly Document is doubtless due to an editor, or to the carelessness of a copyist.

God Almighty. Heb. *El-Shaddai*; in Exod. vi. 3 the Priestly Document (P) tells us that God was not known to the patriarchs as Yahweh, but as El-Shaddai. Accordingly P often uses El-Shaddai as a divine name in Genesis[2]. The name is most common in *Job*, where it occurs thirty-one times. Outside of *Genesis*, however, we have simply *Shaddai*. Most of the

[1] See on verse 9. [2] Gen. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xliii. 14, xlviii. 3.

I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will
multiply thee exceedingly. And Abram fell on his face: 3
and God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my 4
covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be the father of
a multitude of nations. Neither shall thy name any 5
more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham;
for the father of a multitude of nations have I made thee.
And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make 6
nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee. And 7
I will establish my covenant between me and thee and
thy seed after thee throughout their generations for an
everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee and to thy
seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy 8

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occurrences are in exilic or post-exilic literature; the only certain exceptions being xlix. 25, in the Blessing of Jacob, and Numbers xxiv. 4, 16, in the oracles of Balaam.

In some passages the Septuagint renders Shaddai by 'the Almighty.' The derivation and meaning of the word are unknown; it has been variously explained as 'the Destroyer,' 'the Exalted,' 'He Who is sufficient,' &c., &c.

walk before me. See v. 22.

and be thou perfect: rather, 'so shalt thou be perfect.' 'Perfect' may be equivalent to our 'blameless,' i. e. of high character and upright conduct, and not absolutely free from sin—in such a phrase as 'a man of blameless life.' Others explain it, 'that thou mayest escape reproach or punishment.'

2. covenant: cf. vi. 18 and ch. xv. Here, however, Elohim does not observe anthropomorphic ritual; and the covenant is not a compact between Him and Abraham, but a spontaneous declaration of the Divine will.

4. a multitude of nations: the Arab tribes descended from Ishmael, and from Abram's sons by Keturah, Edom (Esau), and Israel.

5. Abram . . . Abraham. The change of name is a sign of the covenant, a token that the patriarch enters on a new period of his life, in which he is to enjoy higher privileges. For Abram see on xi. 26. There is no certain explanation of the form Abraham; probably it is only another way of spelling Abram. The text indeed explains Abraham as meaning 'the father,' *ab*, 'of a multitude,' *hamon*, 'of nations'; but this is impossible as an etymology—it does not account for the R.

seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be
9 their God. And God said unto Abraham, And as for thee, thou shalt keep my covenant, thou, and thy seed
10 after thee throughout their generations. This is my covenant, which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; every male among you shall be
11 circumcised. And ye shall be circumcised in the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of a covenant
12 betwixt me and you. And he that is eight days old shall be circumcised among you, every male throughout your generations, he that is born in the house, or bought with
13 money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed. He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised: and my covenant
14 shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant. And the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant.

15 And God said unto Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall her

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10. circumcised. Circumcision is a very widespread custom. It was practised in the ancient East not only by Israel, but also by the Egyptians, the Arabs, Edom, Ammon, and Moab, and by all the peoples of Canaan except the Philistines. It was, as the Biblical narrative implies, a ritual tribal mark.

12. he that is born . . . or bought. Slaves were considered to belong to the family, and shared the family *sacra*, or religious rites, duties, and privileges.

14. that soul shall be cut off from his people. It is not certain whether this phrase denotes capital punishment or ecclesiastical excommunication probably accompanied by banishment.

15. Sarai . . . Sarah. Sarah means 'princess.' For Sarai see on xi. 29, and for the change of name, on verse 5. Sarah is thus honoured as the mother of the ancestor of the Chosen People.

name be. And I will bless her, and moreover I will give 16
thee a son of her: yea, I will bless her, and she shall be
a mother of nations; kings of peoples shall be of her.
Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed, and said 17
in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is an
hundred years old? and shall Sarah, that is ninety years
old, bear? And Abraham said unto God, Oh that 18
Ishmael might live before thee! And God said, Nay, 19
but Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son; and thou shalt
call his name Isaac: and I will establish my covenant
with him for an everlasting covenant for his seed after
him. And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee: behold, 20
I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will
multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget,
and I will make him a great nation. But my covenant 21
will I establish with Isaac, which Sarah shall bear unto
thee at this set time in the next year. And he left off 22
talking with him, and God went up from Abraham.
And Abraham took Ishmael his son, and all that were 23
born in his house, and all that were bought with his
money, every male among the men of Abraham's house,
and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin in the selfsame
day, as God had said unto him. And Abraham was 24
ninety years old and nine, when he was circumcised in
the flesh of his foreskin. And Ishmael his son was 25
thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh

17. and laughed: *way-yiṣḥaq*, the first of many instances where the writers play upon the name of Isaac (*yiṣḥaq*).

19. Isaac: 'he who laughs.' 'the laugher,' cf. above. Possibly Isaak is a contraction of *Yiṣḥaq-el*. 'El laughs.' Isaac has been regarded by some as the name of a deity, afterwards perhaps transferred to the tribes which worshipped him.

20. twelve princes. As Israel had twelve tribes. These 'princes' or tribes are enumerated in xxv. 13–16.

21. at this set time in the next year: i. e. a year hence.

26 of his foreskin. In the selfsame day was Abraham
27 circumcised, and Ishmael his son. And all the men of his house, those born in the house, and those bought with money of the stranger, were circumcised with him.

18 [J] And the LORD appeared unto him by the oaks of Mamre, as he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day;
2 and he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood over against him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself to
3 the earth, and said, My lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant:
4 let now a little water be fetched, and wash your feet, and
5 rest yourselves under the tree: and I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your heart; after that ye shall

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xviii. 1–15. THE PREDICTION OF THE BIRTH OF ISAAC. (Primitive Document.)

1–8. Three men visit Abraham and are entertained by him.

9–15. They announce that Sarah shall bear a son. Sarah laughs, and is rebuked by Yahweh.

1. The LORD appeared unto him: i. e. Yahweh was one of the 'three men' in verse 2, cf. verses 13 ff. It is not quite clear at what point Abraham discovered that he was in the presence of Yahweh; perhaps when his Visitor showed that He could read the thoughts of Sarah, verse 13. The deference shown by the patriarch in verses 2 f. was the ordinary courtesy of Oriental hospitality towards a distinguished guest.

the oaks of Mamre: where Abraham was sojourning according to this document, see xiii. 18.

2. stood over against him: expecting an offer of hospitality.

3. My lord[1]: the one of three who seemed to be the chief, i. e. Yahweh, whom, however, Abraham does not recognize as such. The margin, 'O Lord[2],' follows the vowels added by the Massoretic editors[3], and implies that Abraham did recognize Yahweh at this point.

4. the tree: cf. verse 1.

5. a morsel of bread: courteous depreciation of the generous hospitality which was to be shown.

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[1] *Adonî.* [2] *Adonāy.* [3] See p. 44.

pass on: forasmuch as ye are come to your servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said. And Abraham 6
hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes. And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched 7
a calf tender and good, and gave it unto the servant; and he hasted to dress it. And he took butter, and 8
milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat. And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy 9
wife? And he said, Behold, in the tent. And he said, 10
I will certainly return unto thee when the season cometh round; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard in the tent door, which was behind him. Now Abraham and Sarah were old, *and* well stricken in 11
age; it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women. And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, 12
After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord

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forasmuch as: R. V. marg. 'for therefore.'

6. measures: the 'measure,' or *seah*, was the third part of the ephah, and was equal to about a peck and a half.

fine meal. The two Hebrew words[1] thus translated are names of two different kinds of meal. Probably the second was added as a correction of the first. The *soleth*, or finer kind of flour, was prescribed by the Priestly Document[2] for use in offerings to Yahweh; hence its introduction here by some late editor.

8. butter[3]: rather 'soured milk,' a very common food amongst the Arabs.

10. when the season cometh round: Heb. 'liveth' or 'reviveth'; probably 'a year hence,' as in xvii. 21.

12. Sarah laughed: a foreshadowing of the name Isaac, as in xvii. 17 (which see), where Abraham laughs. Here the laughter is emphasized by being made the subject of a discussion.

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[1] *Qemah, soleth.* [2] Lev. ii. 2, &c.
[3] *Hem'ah.*

13 being old also? And the LORD said unto Abraham,
Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety
14 bear a child, which am old? Is any thing too hard for
the LORD? At the set time I will return unto thee, when
the season cometh round, and Sarah shall have a son.
15 Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was
afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh.
16 And the men rose up from thence, and looked toward

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13. the LORD said. These words identify the chief of the 'three men' with Yahweh.

14. too hard. R. V. marg. 'wonderful.'

At the set time, &c. Cf. xvii. 21, xviii. 10.

15. Sarah denied. Cf. xii. 12 f., 18 f.

xviii. 16—xix. 38. THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH. (Primitive Document, except xiii. 29 = P.)

Primitive Document.

xviii. 16-22. Yahweh announces to Abraham the coming destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

23-33. Abraham intercedes for Sodom. Yahweh promises that the city shall be spared if ten righteous men can be found in it.

xix. 1-3. The two angels come to Sodom and are lodged by Lot.

4-11. The men of the city desire to abuse the angels, and are miraculously hindered.

12-14. At the bidding of the angels Lot invites his sons-in-law to accompany him out of Sodom. They scoff.

15-23. Lot and his family escape to Zoar.

24, 25. Yahweh destroys the cities of the plain with fire and brimstone.

26. Lot's wife looks behind her, and is turned into a pillar of salt.

27, 28. Abraham sees the smoke of the burning cities.

Priestly Document.

29. God destroys the cities of the plain, but spares Lot for Abraham's sake.

Primitive Document.

30-38. The origin of Moab and Ammon.

Origin, &c., of the Story of Lot. No trace of this story has yet been found in the inscriptions; it may be a local narrative which originated in the conviction that the awful desolation of the Dead

Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on
the way. And the LORD said, Shall I hide from Abraham 17
that which I do; seeing that Abraham shall surely become 18
a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the

Sea and its shores must have been caused by a Divine visitation. some terrible judgement for sin. The form of the catastrophe, the raining of fire and brimstone, may have been suggested by conflagrations of the bitumen which is found in the neighbourhood. It has been supposed that the Dead Sea was formed as a result of this catastrophe; but the geology of the district shows that the sea is much older than any period to which the narrative could refer. The shallow southern end of the sea may have once been dry land; but it seems clear that the cities of the plain must have been at the northern end—they could be seen from Hebron, xix. 27, 28. The overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah is constantly cited in the Bible as the typical instance of Divine judgement. Hos. xi. 8 compared with Gen. x. 19 and Deut. xxix. 23 suggests that there was an alternative form of the story in which the cities overthrown were Admah and Zeboim, see on x. 19. The account of Lot's hospitality and its consequences may be a case of ascribing to a historical character an experience somewhat familiar in ordinary life; there is a very similar story of a Levite and his concubine in Judges xix. It has been pointed out that this passage is similar to a well-known Greek legend[1]: Zeus and Hermes were wandering in Phrygia in human form (like the three 'men'), and for some time sought hospitality in vain, till at last they were hospitably received by an aged peasant named Philemon and his wife Baucis. The gods rewarded their hosts by changing their cottage into a splendid temple, and sent floods which drowned their churlish neighbours.

A late echo of the story of Lot has been met with in Persia. The great Persian desert is called *Dasht-i-lut*, or, more correctly, *Lut*. We are told that, 'as regards the term Lut, in the great desert the guides point out one or more *Shahr-i-Lut*, or Cities of Lot, which are in reality freaks of nature! They explain that the Almighty destroyed them by fire from heaven, as was the case with the cities above which now roll the waters of the Dead Sea[2].'

16. Sodom: see above.

17–19 and **22***b*–**33***a*, from **but Abraham stood yet . . .** to **left communing with Abraham**, are sometimes regarded as later

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[1] As told, for instance, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, viii. 611–724.

[2] *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, by Major P. M. Sykes, p. 32.

19 earth shall be blessed in him? For I have known him,
to the end that he may command his children and his
household after him, that they may keep the way of the
LORD, to do justice and judgement; to the end that the
LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath
20 spoken of him. And the LORD said, Because the cry of
Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is
21 very grievous; I will go down now, and see whether
they have done altogether according to the cry of it,
22 which is come unto me; and if not, I will know. And
the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom:
23 but Abraham stood yet before the LORD. And Abraham

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additions to the original story. If so xix. 1*a*, 'And the two angels came to Sodom at even,' will also be an insertion.

18. shall be blessed in him. Cf. xii. 3.

19. I have known him: 'known, approved, and chosen,' 'recognized,' cf. Amos iii. 2.

to the end that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken: an illustration of the principle that many of the predictions recorded in the Old Testament were not absolute, but depended on the conduct of those to whom they referred. Cf. Jonah iii. 1–4, 10.

20. because . . . because: R. V. marg. 'verily . . . verily.'

the cry of Sodom, &c. The cities are personified, and thought of as crying to God to punish the sins of their inhabitants. For Gomorrah see above.

their sin: illustrated in xix.

21. I will go down now, and see: anthropomorphic language after the style of this document.

22. But Abraham stood yet before the LORD. 'The men,' according to the usage in the previous part of the narrative, should be the three men including Yahweh. There is no intimation that Yahweh had separated from his companions, cf. on 17–19. If, however, we take the story as it stands, we gather that at this point Yahweh separated Himself from the two 'men,' who went on to Sodom by themselves. According to an ancient Rabbinical authority, the *Tikkun Sopherim*, or 'Corrections of the Scribes,' this clause was originally 'but Yahweh stood yet before Abraham,' and 'was altered to the present text because of the double sense of "stood before," which also means "stand at the service of." But it is not evidence of another reading, but only of

drew near, and said, Wilt thou consume the righteous
with the wicked? Peradventure there be fifty righteous 24
within the city: wilt thou consume and not spare the
place for the fifty righteous that are therein? That be 25
far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous
with the wicked, that so the righteous should be as the
wicked; that be far from thee: shall not the Judge of
all the earth do right? And the LORD said, If I find in 26
Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare
all the place for their sake. And Abraham answered 27
and said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak
unto the Lord, which am but dust and ashes: peradven- 28
ture there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou
destroy all the city for lack of five? And he said, I will

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the offence which the Rabbinical writers took at the representation of a man detaining God instead of God detaining the man[1].'

23. Wilt thou consume the righteous with the wicked? The older Israelite theology held that a man's fortunes were always exactly proportioned to his conduct, so that if a man suffered it was a clear proof that he had sinned. With the growth of sympathy, the development of the moral sense, and the enlarging of experience, it became more and more impossible to hold this doctrine, and later books, e. g. Ezek. xviii, Job, Ps. lxxiii, are much perplexed by the problem of the sufferings of the incident. If the intercession of Abraham is a later addition, it is probably meant to draw from the incident the moral that God's judgements carefully distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. It is clearly implied that the only righteous persons in Sodom were Lot and his family, and these were saved. The author does not seem to recognize the innocence of young children as the Book of Jonah does, where God gives as a special reason for his mercy to Nineveh that there were therein 'more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle.'

27. the Lord: possibly 'my lord,' as in verse 3; but more probably a divine name, the 'Adonay,' which the vowel points of the Massoretic text direct us to read instead of Yahweh, cf. on ii. 4.

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[1] Dillmann.

29 not destroy it, if I find there forty and five. And he
spake unto him yet again, and said, Peradventure there
shall be forty found there. And he said, I will not do it
30 for the forty's sake. And he said, Oh let not the Lord
be angry, and I will speak: peradventure there shall
thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do it, if
31 I find thirty there. And he said, Behold now, I have
taken upon me to speak unto the Lord: peradventure
there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will
32 not destroy it for the twenty's sake. And he said, Oh
let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but this
once: peradventure ten shall be found there. And he
33 said, I will not destroy it for the ten's sake. And the
LORD went his way, as soon as he had left communing
with Abraham: and Abraham returned unto his place.

19 And the two angels came to Sodom at even; and Lot
sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot saw them, and rose
up to meet them; and he bowed himself with his face to
2 the earth; and he said, Behold now, my lords, turn
aside, I pray you, into your servant's house, and tarry all
night, and wash your feet, and ye shall rise up early, and
go on your way. And they said, Nay; but we will abide
3 in the street all night. And he urged them greatly; and
they turned in unto him, and entered into his house; and
he made them a feast, and did bake unleavened bread,

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33. his place: Mamre near Hebron, see verse 1.

xix. **1. and the two angels**: cf. xviii. 22, or perhaps read 'the men' instead of 'the two angels.'

the gate: the public meeting-place in an eastern city, where strangers would expect to meet with a host. Lot's behaviour is simply the hospitality which an honourable sheikh would offer to distinguished guests. The 'sin of Sodom' was aggravated by its gross violation of the rights of the guest, which were most sacred.

2. we will abide in the street: a mere form of courtesy.

3. unleavened: because made in haste.

and they did eat. But before they lay down, the men 4
of the city, *even* the men of Sodom, compassed the
house round, both young and old, all the people from
every quarter; and they called unto Lot, and said unto 5
him, Where are the men which came in to thee this night?
bring them out unto us, that we may know them. And 6
Lot went out unto them to the door, and shut the door
after him. And he said, I pray you, my brethren, do not 7
so wickedly. Behold now, I have two daughters which 8
have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them
out unto you, and do ye to them as is good in your eyes:
only unto these men do nothing; forasmuch as they are
come under the shadow of my roof. And they said, 9
Stand back. And they said, This one fellow came in to
sojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we deal
worse with thee, than with them. And they pressed sore
upon the man, even Lot, and drew near to break the door.
But the men put forth their hand, and brought Lot into 10
the house to them, and shut to the door. And they 11
smote the men that were at the door of the house with
blindness, both small and great: so that they wearied
themselves to find the door. And the men said unto Lot, 12
Hast thou here any besides? son in law, and thy sons, and
thy daughters, and whomsoever thou hast in the city;
bring them out of the place: for we will destroy this place, 13
because the cry of them is waxen great before the LORD;
and the LORD hath sent us to destroy it. And Lot went 14
out, and spake unto his sons in law, which married his

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4. all the people from every quarter: perhaps intended to be taken literally—there were none righteous, cf. xviii. 32.

8. forasmuch: R. V. marg. 'for therefore.'

14. his sons in law, which married his daughters: better as R. V. marg. 'which were to marry.' The narrative clearly implies that Lot's daughters were still living at home.

daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for
the LORD will destroy the city. But he seemed unto his
15 sons in law as one that mocked. And when the morning
arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take
thy wife, and thy two daughters which are here; lest thou
16 be consumed in the iniquity of the city. But he lingered;
and the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the
hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters;
the LORD being merciful unto him: and they brought
17 him forth, and set him without the city. And it came to
pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he
said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither
stay thou in all the Plain; escape to the mountain, lest
18 thou be consumed. And Lot said unto them, Oh, not
19 so, my lord: behold now, thy servant hath found grace
in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which
thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life; and I can-
not escape to the mountain, lest evil overtake me, and

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15. lest thou be consumed. It is implied that Yahweh had fixed a time beyond which the destruction of Sodom could not be postponed; probably sunrise next morning; cf. verse 23. Unless Lot could be got out of the city before then he would perish.

iniquity. R. V. marg. 'punishment.'

16. the LORD: perhaps implying that Yahweh was still with the 'men,' cf. on 17-19, and 22.

17. look not behind thee. Mortals may not look with impunity either upon Yahweh or upon His special judgements. Cf. on ii. 21, xv. 12, xvi. 13.

the mountain: probably the highlands to the east of the Dead Sea.

18. my lord: R. V. marg. 'O Lord.'

19. grace: favour.

lest evil (R. V. marg. 'the evil') **overtake me.** If the catastrophe happened before he reached the refuge appointed for him, he would share the common ruin; 'the mountain' was distant, and he might not get there in time. Could not Yahweh appoint him a nearer refuge?

I die: behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it 20
is a little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a
little one?) and my soul shall live. And he said unto 21
him, See, I have accepted thee concerning this thing
also, that I will not overthrow the city of which thou hast
spoken. Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do 22
any thing till thou be come thither. Therefore the name
of the city was called Zoar. The sun was risen upon the 23
earth when Lot came unto Zoar. Then the LORD rained 24
upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire
from the LORD out of heaven; and he overthrew those 25
cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the
cities, and that which grew upon the ground. But his 26
wife looked back from behind him, and she became a

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20. a little one. This city (see on verse 22) was to have perished with the other cities of the Plain, but Lot prays that it may be spared, to afford him a refuge—it is only a small concession.

my soul: a misleading translation, the Hebrew (*lit.* 'my life') simply means an emphatic 'I,' or we might render, 'that my life may be spared.'

22. I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. For a while the destroying angel stays his hand that Lot may escape—but only for a while; Lot would not have lingered indefinitely with impunity, cf. verse 15.

Therefore the name of the city was called Zoar: i. e. 'little,' cf. verse 20, and for the site of the city xiii. 10 and xiv. 8.

24. See above, p. 214. 'Origin,' &c.

26. His wife looked back, &c. Cf. verse 17. Similarly in the Greek legend Orpheus visited Hades to bring his wife Eurydice back to the upper world. He obtained permission to do so on condition that he did not look round until he had left Hades. He violated the condition, and Eurydice had to remain.

she became a pillar of salt. Josephus[1] and the *Book of Wisdom*[2] speak of this pillar as still existing; and recently, at any rate, there was still standing[3], on the hill of Usdum, at the south-

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[1] *Antiquities*, I. xi. 4. [2] *Wisdom*, x. 7.

[3] Lynch, *Expedition to the Jordan and Dead Sea*, p. 307, ap. Dillmann.

27 pillar of salt. And Abraham gat up early in the morning
28 to the place where he had stood before the LORD: and he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the Plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the land went up as the smoke of a furnace.

west end of the Dead Sea, 'a high round pillar of crystalline salt about forty feet high.' This may be the pillar referred to by Josephus and *Wisdom*, and perhaps that which tradition had in view from the outset. If so, however, it would somewhat militate against the theory that the cities of the plain were at the northern end of the Dead Sea. According to Dillmann, 'the legend originated in the existence of some pillar of rock-salt.' According to Luke xvii. 28-32, our Lord cited the story of Lot as an illustration of the suddenness of the coming of the kingdom of God; and concluded, 'let him that is in the field likewise not return back. Remember Lot's wife.' This paragraph is not found in the parallel passages in *Matthew* and *Mark*, and may not have been part of our Lord's discourse. In any case, this casual reference must not be taken as an authoritative declaration by Christ that the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt was an actual historical event. Dr. Plummer[1] writes, 'Note that Christ says, "Remember," not "Behold." *Nothing that is in existence is appealed to, but only what has been told*[2].'

27. gat up early: a single word in the Hebrew; the translation is misleading. Etymologically the word has nothing to do with 'early.' In one way the rendering is correct, because in hot countries people get up at what we should consider an early hour in order to do their work before the heat becomes intolerable. But the English Version gives the impression of 'unusually early,' and this is wrong. With very few exceptions whenever we read of any one getting up, we are told—according to the English Version—that he 'got up early.' Perhaps 'got up and dressed,' though prosaic, would be a more exact rendering[3].

to the place, &c. Cf. xviii. 22. All the narrative indicates as to this place is that it was on the way from Hebron to Sodom, i. e. west of Hebron.

28. the smoke of the land went up. This feature of the narrative may have been suggested by the fact that, owing to the rapid evaporation of the dense water, a mist continually hangs over the Dead Sea.

[1] Master of University College, Durham, in his *Luke* in the *International Critical Commentary*.

[2] The italics are Dr. Plummer's.

[3] Fürst, *Concordance*.

[P] And it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities 29
of the Plain, that God remembered Abraham, and sent Lot
out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the
cities in the which Lot dwelt.

[J] And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the 30
mountain, and his two daughters with him ; for he feared

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29. *Priestly Document.* Observe the use of the Divine name 'God,' *Elohim.* One motive for the abbreviation of the story was the desire to omit the revolting details given in the other document. This verse, as it stood originally in the Priestly Document, connected xiii. 12, the separation of Abraham and Lot, and xvi. 1 *a*, the introduction to the Priestly account of the birth of Isaac.

30–38. *Primitive Document. The origin of Moab and Ammon.* Whatever may be the character of the preceding narrative, this section, at any rate, is tribal history in the form of a story about individuals—a result of criticism which lessens its painful character. It indicates a traditional belief in the kinship of Moab and Ammon to Israel, as descendants of Lot the nephew of Abraham. This view of the relation of the tribes is partially confirmed by the fact that the language of Moab, as we find it on the Moabite stone, is practically Hebrew ; and that the relation of Chemosh to Moab is very similar to that of Yahweh to Israel.

The form of the names Moab and Ammon would suggest some such story to Israelite ears ; and it has been supposed that the narrative is a mere deduction from a mistaken etymology, interpreted in the light of the constant feud between Israel on the one hand and Moab and Ammon on the other. But, making every allowance for the virulence of family quarrels and for the Oriental habit of insulting the ancestors of one's enemies, it is strange that the Israelite historian should, in the same breath, assert that Moab and Ammon were his kinsfolk and brand them with the shame of an incestuous origin. Some alternative view may be possible. For instance [1], the story may have originated with Moab and Ammon, and have been intended to claim a connexion with the heroic figures of Lot and Abraham. Possibly the original story narrated the extinction of all the human race except Lot and his daughters ; and their conduct was regarded as an act of heroism which averted the utter ruin of the human race. Cf. the birth of Sinfiotli in *Sigurd the Volsung* (Morris).

30. he feared to dwell in Zoar : lest after all Yahweh should repent of having spared the city, and destroy it.

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[1] The following view is substantially Gunkel's.

to dwell in Zoar: and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two
31 daughters. And the firstborn said unto the younger, Our
father is old, and there is not a man in the earth to come
32 in unto us after the manner of all the earth: come, let us
make our father drink wine, and we will lie with him, that
33 we may preserve seed of our father. And they made
their father drink wine that night: and the firstborn went
in, and lay with her father; and he knew not when she
34 lay down, nor when she arose. And it came to pass on
the morrow, that the firstborn said unto the younger, Be-
hold, I lay yesternight with my father: let us make him
drink wine this night also; and go thou in, and lie with
35 him, that we may preserve seed of our father. And
they made their father drink wine that night also: and
the younger arose, and lay with him; and he knew not
36 when she lay down, nor when she arose. Thus were
both the daughters of Lot with child by their father.
37 And the firstborn bare a son, and called his name Moab:
the same is the father of the Moabites unto this day.
38 And the younger, she also bare a son, and called his

a cave: perhaps rather 'the cave,' probably some cave connected with Lot either by its name or by some tradition.

31. Our father is old: so that there was no time to be lost.

there is not a man in the earth: either expressing her belief that Zoar had now been destroyed and that now all mankind had perished; or referring to their isolation; or indicating that the story in its original form was an alternative and parallel to that of the Flood—the catastrophe had involved the whole race except Lot and his daughters.

37. Moab. The Septuagint adds after 'Moab' 'saying, "From my father,"' i. e. in Hebrew *mē'ābhī*, a popular etymology of the name, which has also been explained as 'seed of a father'; or as from *yā'bh*, 'to wish for'; and meaning 'the desirable land'; or again as from an Arabic root *wa'aba*, 'to be affected with shame or anger,' which is very improbable. Moab is mentioned on a monument of Rameses II, *c.* B. C. 1300. The territory of Moab lay along the east of the Dead Sea and northwards.

name Ben-ammi: the same is the father of the children of Ammon unto this day.

[E] And Abraham journeyed from thence toward the 20

38. Ben-ammi: i. e. according to the familiar use of '*ammi* in Hebrew, 'son of my race.' The Septuagint has 'called his name Amman, the son of my race.' '*Ammi*, however, in proper names is now usually explained either in its Arabic meaning of 'paternal uncle' or 'kinsman,' or as a Divine name or title; but Ammon is not necessarily derived from '*Ammi*. The people are sometimes spoken of as 'Ammonites,' sometimes, as here, 'benê Ammon,' 'children of Ammon.' The territory of Ammon is said to have been originally east of the Jordan, and north of Moab, Judges xi. 12-29; but, at any rate after the Israelite conquest of Palestine, Ammon occupied the country to the east of Reuben and Gad. A word in the Amarna[1] tablets, which is apparently the name of a Babylonian deity, has been rendered Ammon[2].

XX. ABRAHAM AT GERAR. (Elohistic Document, E, except the last verse, 18, which is an editorial note, R.)

1. Abraham comes to Gerar.

2. He gives out that Sarah is his sister, and the king, Abimelech, takes her into his harem.

3-7. God tells the king that she is a married woman, and bids him restore her to her husband.

8. Abimelech tells the story to his household.

9, 10. He remonstrates with Abraham.

11-13. Abraham explains that he was afraid of being ill-treated on account of Sarah; moreover she was his half-sister.

14-16. Abimelech compensates Abraham.

17 [18 = R]. In response to Abraham's prayer God relieves the king's harem of the sterility (which Yahweh had inflicted on them on account of Sarah).

Source, &c. This is the first complete narrative from the Elohistic Document, E; it is not the beginning of that work[3], but the earlier portions have for the most part been omitted, either because they were virtual repetitions of the parallel sections of the Primitive Document, or because they were not consistent with the religious ideas of the editors. Other versions of the same story are found in xii. 10-20, xxvi. 1-11, passages in J, which see. The more advanced character of this version is shown from the fact that the writer provides an apology for Abraham's deceit—

[1] About B. C. 1400; see p. 71. [2] Winckler.
[3] Cf. on chapter xv.

land of the South, and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur;
2 and he sojourned in Gerar. And Abraham said of Sarah
his wife, She is my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar
3 sent, and took Sarah. But God came to Abimelech in
a dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou art
but a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast
4 taken; for she is a man's wife. Now Abimelech had
not come near her: and he said, Lord, wilt thou slay
5 even a righteous nation? Said he not himself unto me,
She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is

Sarah really was his sister as well as his wife; and that the religious character of the patriarch is emphasized—he is a prophet. Notice that the writer speaks of 'God,' not 'Yahweh.'

1. from thence. During the previous narrative Abraham has been near Hebron, xviii. 1; 'thence' may refer to Hebron, and the words may be an insertion of an editor to connect this chapter with what precedes. If, however, they are taken from E, they refer to a lost passage, and we do not know what place is indicated by 'thence.'

South. See xii. 9.

Kadesh. See xiv. 7.

Shur. See xvi. 7.

Gerar (cf. x. 19), is probably about five miles south of Gaza; but, as this position does not suit the description 'between Kadesh and Shur,' it has been supposed that either there was another Gerar in the south (*Negeb*), or that the clause, 'and dwelt between Kadesh and Shur,' does not belong to E. In the Hebrew there seems to be a play upon words in the last clause, 'wayyāgor (and he sojourned)' in '*Gerār*.'

2. She is my sister: so xii. 13, 19, xxvi. 7.

Abimelech: king of Gerar, so xxvi. 1. Abimelech = 'Melech is father,' Melech being the Divine name or title, represented in E. V. by Moloch.

took Sarah: into his harem.

3. in a dream. It is a characteristic of this document that revelations are often made in dreams.

4. had not come near her: another softening of the older story; cf. xii. 19, also xxvi. 9.

a righteous nation: implying that the people would suffer for the error of Abimelech, as Israel was punished for the sin of Achan. 'Righteous' here means simply 'innocent of any intention to do wrong in this particular case.'

my brother: in the integrity of my heart and the innocency of my hands have I done this. And God said 6
unto him in the dream, Yea, I know that in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee not to touch her. Now therefore restore the man's wife; for 7
he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, thou, and all that are thine. And 8
Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were sore afraid. Then Abimelech called Abraham, 9
and said unto him, What hast thou done unto us? and wherein have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? thou hast done deeds unto me that ought not to be done. And Abimelech 10
said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done this thing? And Abraham said, Because I thought, 11
Surely the fear of God is not in this place; and they will slay me for my wife's sake. And moreover she is indeed 12

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7. a prophet: and therefore specially under Divine protection. This is the first mention of a prophet in the Bible, and the only place where Abraham is called a prophet. The prophet is one who declares God's will to men; but here there is no question of any such declaration, the only religious function exercised by Abraham is that of intercession. The Elohistic Document was probably compiled under the influence of the prophets, who claimed Abraham as the founder of their order.

8. rose early. See xix. 27.

10. What sawest thou: commonly interpreted, 'What was your object?' but an alteration in the position of a single letter would give 'What didst thou fear[1]?'

11. the fear of God is not in this place. An early testimony to the moral influence of religion.

for my wife's sake. Murder would be regarded as less of

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[1] *Yr'Th* instead of *R'yTh*.

my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter
13 of my mother; and she became my wife: and it came to
pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's
house, that I said unto her, This is thy kindness which
thou shalt shew unto me; at every place whither we shall
14 come, say of me, He is my brother. And Abimelech
took sheep and oxen, and menservants and women-
servants, and gave them unto Abraham, and restored
15 him Sarah his wife. And Abimelech said, Behold, my
16 land is before thee: dwell where it pleaseth thee. And
unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother
a thousand pieces of silver: behold, it is for thee a cover-

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a crime than adultery; or the motive for killing the husband might be merely to be quit of interference or remonstrance.

12. she is indeed my sister, &c. A half-truth which Abimelech treats with the scorn it deserved, verse 16. Marriage with a half-sister is forbidden Deut. xxvii. 22, Lev. xviii. 9, 11, xx. 17, but the incident of Amnon and Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 13, implies that such a union was not impossible in the time of David, for Tamar, Amnon's half-sister, suggests that David might consent to their marriage. Such unions were legal amongst the Egyptians and other ancient peoples. Probably, however, this sisterly relationship of Sarah to Abraham is simply a theory by which the Elohist relieves the patriarch of the guilt of a direct lie.

13. God caused me to wander: implying that in E also Abraham left his home in obedience to a Divine command.

I said unto her, &c. Cf. xii. 11–13.

14. menservants and womenservants: male and female slaves. Cf. xii. 16.

15. dwell where it pleaseth thee. Pharaoh, on the contrary, turned Abraham out.

16. I have given: rather 'I give,' or 'am giving'; the words accompanied the act, and did not describe a previous act.

thy brother: ironical; otherwise explained as an acceptance of the truth of Abraham's statement. As Abraham and Sarah continued to live in the country as husband and wife the use of the word 'brother' cannot have been meant to conceal the fact that Sarah was a married woman.

a thousand pieces of silver: i. e. shekels, a very considerable sum of money. The shekel contained about as much silver as our half-crown, but its purchasing power or real value was

ing of the eyes to all that are with thee; and in respect of all thou art righted. And Abraham prayed unto God: 17 and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maid-servants; and they bare children. [R] For the LORD had 18 fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

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very much greater. For instance, thirty shekels was the price of a slave[1]. In the southern states of America before the abolition of slavery 800 dollars or £160 was not an uncommon price for an adult male slave, so that 1000 shekels might *very roughly* be equivalent to about £5,000 of our money.

it is for thee a covering of the eyes: i. e. so that Sarah no longer sees or takes account of the wrong done her; a poetic expression for 'compensation.' So in Job ix. 24 we read of the faces of the judges being covered, i. e. so that they did not see what was just. But in the *Arabian Nights*[2] a merchant speaks of money lent him to enable him to give alms to the poor, and thus establish his credit as 'that wherewith he hath veiled my face before the poor.' This suggests that there is a figurative reference to the veiling of women; unveiled in public they were dishonoured; this compensation restored, as it were, her veil to Sarah; purged her of the disgrace of her recent experience. The 'eyes' covered are less probably explained by some as those of the spectators. The R.V. 'He is,' &c., does not make good sense.

in respect of all (R. V. marg. 'before all men') **thou art righted**: i. e. her character was completely vindicated, according to the etiquette of the times. This may have been the meaning of the original, but the Hebrew as we now have it is unintelligible. The ancient versions vary from it, and from each other, and do not improve matters. The Septuagint has the very suggestive rendering 'speak truth in all things,' a rendering most creditable to the moral susceptibility of the translators, but hardly an exact equivalent of anything likely to have been written by the Elohist.

17. God healed Abimelech, &c. : we have not been told of any disease of the king, unless it is implied in 'thou shalt live,' cf. verse 7.

they bare children. The disease caused sterility.

18. (R, i. e. an editorial note.) An editor noticed the omission just mentioned[3], and supplied the obvious explanation. Note

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[1] Exod. xxi. 32.

[2] Lane, 1889, iii. 630, ch. xxx, the Story of Maaroof.

[3] First note on verse 17.

21 [J] And the LORD visited Sarah as he had said, [P] and
2 the LORD did unto Sarah as he had spoken. [J] And Sarah
conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, [P] at
3 the set time of which God had spoken to him. And
Abraham called the name of his son that was born unto
4 him, whom Sarah bare to him, Isaac. And Abraham
circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old, as
5 God had commanded him. And Abraham was an
hundred years old, when his son Isaac was born unto him.
6 [E] And Sarah said, God hath made me to laugh; every

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the use of Yahweh instead of the 'God' of the main narrative.

xxi. 1-7. THE BIRTH OF ISAAC.

1 a^1, 2 a^2, 7 (J). By the special intervention of Yahweh Sarah bears a son to Abraham in his old age; she speaks of the marvellousness of the event.

1 b^3, 2 b^4-5, (P). By the special intervention of God[5] Sarah bears a son to Abraham when he is one hundred years old. Abraham calls his name Isaac, and circumcizes him.

6. (E) Sarah plays on the name of Isaac.

1 a. (J) **as he had said.** See xviii. 10, J.

1 b. (P) **the LORD:** i. e. Yahweh. If this clause is rightly derived from the Priestly Document, 'God' must have stood here originally, and Yahweh is due to an alteration by the editor.

2 b. (P) **at the set time.** See xvii. 21, P.

3. (P) **Abraham called the name.** The father gives the name, a characteristic of this document, cf. xvi. 15, P.

Isaac. See xvii. 18, P.

4. (P) **circumcised . . . as God had commanded him.** See xvii. 10, P.

6. (E) This is a fragment of the Elohistic account of the birth of Isaac, the rest having been omitted by an editor to avoid repetition. It is apparently part of a statement that Sarah named her son Isaac (i. e. 'Laughter') because **God hath made me to laugh,** &c. In this document the mother usually gives the name, cf. xxx. 17 ff., E.

laugh . . . laugh: because it was so surprising that a child should be born to two old people. This document also must have

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[1] To 'said.' [2] To 'old age.' [3] From 'And Yahweh did.'
[4] From 'at the set time.' [5] See note on this verse.

one that heareth will laugh with me. [J] And she said, 7
Who would have said unto Abraham, that Sarah should
give children suck? for I have borne him a son in his
old age.

[E] And the child grew, and was weaned: and Abraham 8
made a great feast on the day that Isaac was weaned.

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referred to the age of Abraham and Sarah in some passage not included in our *Genesis*.

xxi. 8–21. The Dismissal of Hagar and her Son (E).

8–10. At a feast made on the occasion of the weaning of Isaac Sarah is stricken with jealousy of Hagar and her son, and demands her dismissal.

11–13. Abraham is reluctant, but God bids him hearken to Sarah, and promises that Hagar's son shall become a nation.

14–16. Hagar and her son are sent away into the wilderness, and wander till their water is spent and the child is on the point of dying of thirst.

17–19. God shows Hagar a well, and renews His promise.

20–21. The child grows up, becomes an archer, lives in the wilderness of Paran, and marries an Egyptian wife.

Source, &c. This is the Elohistic narrative parallel to the account in the Primitive Document in xvi. 4–8, 11–14. The differences in the two stories enabled the editor by adding xvi. 9, 10 to the primitive account to treat this section as a sequel to xvi. Note that the name of Hagar's son is not given in this narrative. The notes on verses 14–17 will point out that in this story Hagar's son is quite a baby, but according to the Priestly writer Abraham was eighty-six when Ishmael was born, and one hundred when Isaac was born[1], so that at this time, after the weaning of Isaac[2], Ishmael must have been about sixteen. If we had to take Genesis as a continuous narrative there would be a contradiction, but all difficulty disappears when we realize that the statements as to the age of the patriarch belong to a different story.

8. was weaned. In the East it is not usual to wean infants till they are from a year to two years old[3], or even older.

a great feast. The weaning, like our christening, was the occasion of a social gathering. According to modern travellers[4] this is still the case in the East.

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[1] Gen. xvi. 16, xxi. 5.
[2] Verse 8, see note.
[3] Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1895 ed., p. 69.
[4] Dillmann.

9 And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which
10 she had borne unto Abraham, mocking. Wherefore she
said unto Abraham, Cast out this bondwoman and her
son: for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir
11 with my son, even with Isaac. And the thing was very
12 grievous in Abraham's sight on account of his son. And
God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy
sight because of the lad, and because of thy bondwoman;
in all that Sarah saith unto thee, hearken unto her voice;
13 for in Isaac shall thy seed be called. And also of the
son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he
14 is thy seed. And Abraham rose up early in the morning,
and took bread and a bottle of water, and gave it unto
Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child, and

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9. mocking: a mistaken translation, it should be simply 'sporting.' Sarah's jealousy was awakened by Hagar's son behaving as if he was on the same footing as Isaac; or even, being the elder, on a higher footing. So the mediaeval Rabbinical commentator Aben Ezra simply says that Sarah was jealous because Hagar's son was the elder. The translation 'mocking' is due to a desire to find an excuse for Sarah, and perhaps also to the influence of Jewish traditions, which represent Hagar's son as quarrelling with Isaac about the birthright, and trying to shoot him.

10. bondwoman: female slave.

heir with my son. The children of the wife would as a rule have an advantage over those of a concubine; but the distinction between the two was not always clearly defined, and the child of a concubine might share in the inheritance, or even—if, like Hagar's son, the eldest—receive the chief share as the firstborn.

14. bottle: i. e. as R. V. marg. 'skin.'

gave it unto Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child. The awkward style of the English faithfully reproduces a piece of bad Hebrew, which cannot be what the Elohist originally wrote, but is due to an attempt of some copyist or editor to do away with the discrepancy which has been pointed out above[1] between the Elohistic and the Priestly Documents. The sense

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[1] Page 231.

sent her away: and she departed, and wandered in the wilderness of Beer-sheba. And the water in the bottle 15
was spent, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs. And she went, and sat her down over against 16
him a good way off, as it were a bowshot: for she said, Let me not look upon the death of the child. And she sat over against him, and lift up her voice, and wept. And God heard the voice of the lad; and the angel of 17

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of the original is doubtless given by the Septuagint: 'he took bread and a skin of water, and gave them to Hagar, and he also placed the child upon her shoulder'; i. e. Hagar's son was still a mere baby. This is also implied in verses 15–17. The word 'child' used here for Ishmael is the same[1] as that used for Isaac in verse 8. In verse 17 the word is changed, as the E. V. 'lad[2]' indicates.

Beer-sheba: the modern *Bir-es-Seba* in the extreme south of Palestine, on the border between the arable land and the wilderness. The phrase from 'Dan to Beer-sheba' shows that the latter was regarded as the southernmost place of any importance in the land. Beer-sheba is one of the towns in the territory of Judah assigned to the Simeonites in Joshua xix. 2; it remained a sanctuary of importance to late times, and seems to have been specially connected with the northern kingdom[3]. The name might be read in Hebrew somewhat loosely as 'well of the oath,' but is properly 'well of seven,' possibly 'of seven gods,' though it would be natural to think that the name might be a corruption of one denoting 'the seven wells.' There is a group of three or more wells at *Bir-es-Seba*. Cf. verses 22–24, and xxvi. 33.

15. she cast the child: evidently therefore quite young, and not a lad of sixteen; cf. on verse 14.

16. lift up her voice, and wept. Instead of this we should probably read with the Septuagint: 'and the child lifted up its voice and wept,' of which the beginning of the next verse is the natural sequel. This feature of the narrative again suits a young child.

17. the lad: cf. on verse 14, an elastic term, sometimes used like our 'boy' for a servant; used in xxxvii. 2, E of Joseph at the age of seventeen, but also in Exod. ii. 6 of Moses at the age of three months, and therefore consistent with the explanation given to child in verse 14, &c.

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[1] Heb. *Yeled*. [2] Heb. *Na'ar*, see note on 17.
[3] Amos v. 5, viii. 14.

Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names; duke Timnah, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth;
41,42 duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon; duke Kenaz,
43 duke Teman, duke Mibzar; duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession. This is Esau the father of the Edomites.

37 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings,

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40. Timnah. See verse 12.

Alvah. See Alvan, verse 23.

Jetheth. Here and 1 Chron. i. 51. Some MSS. of LXX read Jether, the name of clans of Judah and Asher, 1 Chron. ii. 32, iv. 17, vii. 38.

41. Oholibamah. See verse 2.

Elah: here and 1 Chron. i. 52, a common Israelite name; in 1 Chron. iv. 15 the name of a clan of Caleb (Judah).

Pinon: here and 1 Chron., perhaps the name of a place, cf. Punon, Num. xxxiii. 42.

42. Kenaz . . . Teman. See verses 15, 16.

43. Mibzar: perhaps = 'fortress,' here and 1 Chron.; probably the name of a place.

Magdiel . . . Iram: here and 1 Chron.

xxxvii; xxxix—l. THE STORY OF JOSEPH.

The general outline of this story is often interpreted as tribal history. The tribe Joseph is supposed to have quarrelled with the other tribes, and to have taken refuge in Egypt. Thither, later on, the other tribes followed, and there was a reconciliation. But the whole of this detailed story cannot be tribal history. Prof. Cheyne[1] holds the following view:—'There are five distinct elements in our present Joseph-story:—(1) the transformed tradition of a sojourn of the tribe of Joseph in Egypt; (2) the tradition, true in essential, of a Hebrew vizier under Khu-en-aten[2]; (3) the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, &c. (an imaginative appendage); (4) the narrative (not historical) connecting the changed agrarian law of Egypt with Khu-en-aten's vizier; (5) the narrative (also unhistorical) of the sojourn of the other "sons" of Israel in Egypt.' Prof. Cheyne, following Winckler, seems inclined to identify the 'Hebrew vizier' with an Egyptian official *Yanhamu* mentioned in the Amarna Tablets. On the other hand, the

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[1] *Encycl. Bibl.*

[2] Amenophis IV, of the Amarna Tablets, *c.* B.C. 1400.

in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of 2a
Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, [J] was

author[1] of the latest important commentary on Genesis considers that the chapters on Joseph consist of a number of legends, mostly from Egyptian and other foreign sources, set in a framework of tribal history.

The character of Joseph is described in much greater detail than that of the other patriarchs, and special stress is laid on its moral features; e. g. his chastity and his affection for Jacob and Benjamin.

The story of Daniel is partly based on that of Joseph. Daniel also is a captive in a foreign land, and becomes vizier by interpreting the king's dream.

xxxvii. JOSEPH SOLD INTO EGYPT (JE[2]).

xxxvii. 1. (P) Jacob settles in Canaan.

xxxvii. 2a[3]. (P) The heading of the Priestly account of Jacob's family.

J	E
2b[4]–4. Joseph tells tales of his brethren; he is his father's favourite, and his father gives him a princely robe. His brethren hate him.	5–11. Joseph dreams that he will be chief amongst his brethren, and even over his parents. His brethren envy him.
12, 13a[5]. Israel sends him to his brothers at Shechem.	13b[6], 14a[7]. His father sends him to his brothers.
14b[8]. He comes to Shechem.	15–17. He finds them at Dothan.
18. They conspire to kill him.	19, 20. They propose to kill the dreamer, throw the body into a pit, and say that he has been eaten by a wild beast.
21. Judah[9] saves his life.	22–25a[10]. Reuben persuades them to put him in the pit alive, intending to take him out and send him home. They take off the princely robe, and put him in the pit.

[1] Gunkel. [2] Mostly. [3] As far as 'seventeen years old.'
[4] From 'was feeding.' [5] As far as 'unto them.'
[6] From 'and he said.' [7] As far as 'again.'
[8] From 'So he sent.' [9] See note on this verse.
[10] As far as 'eat bread.'

unto Abraham, What mean these seven ewe lambs which
30 thou hast set by themselves? And he said, These seven
ewe lambs shalt thou take of my hand, that it may be a
31 witness unto me, that I have digged this well. [E] Where-
fore he called that place Beer-sheba; because there they
32 sware both of them. [JE] So they made a covenant at
Beer-sheba: and Abimelech rose up, and Phicol the
captain of his host, and they returned into the land of
33 the Philistines. And *Abraham* planted a tamarisk tree
in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD,
34 the Everlasting God. And Abraham sojourned in the
land of the Philistines many days.

22 [E] And it came to pass after these things, that God did

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31. (E). **Beer-sheba . . . because . . . they sware:** cf. verses 14 and 25, and xxvi. 33.

xxii. 1–19. THE OFFERING OF ISAAC. (E, with the exception of editorial correction in 11, and the editorial addition of 14–18.)

1–2. To prove Abraham God bids him offer Isaac as a burnt-offering on a certain mountain.

3–10. Abraham takes Isaac to the place, builds an altar, and binds his son on it as the victim.

11–13. A voice from heaven bids him spare his son, and declares that God is satisfied with his willingness to obey. Abraham offers a stray ram in place of Isaac.

[14–18. (R). Abraham calls the place 'Yahweh will provide.' The voice from heaven renews the promise to Abraham.]

19. Abraham and Isaac return to Beer-sheba.

Sources, &c. The narrative as it stands sets forth the willingness of Abraham to make the most painful sacrifice to God; and his faith that the Divine mercy will somehow manifest itself at the last, 'God will provide himself the lamb for the burnt offering.' Even as it is written in *Hebrews*[1], 'By faith Abraham, being tried, offered up Isaac: yea, he that had gladly received the promises was offering up his only begotten son; even he of whom it was said, In Isaac shall thy seed be called: accounting that God is able to raise up, even from the dead; from whence he did also in a parable receive him back.'

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[1] Chapter xi. 17–19.

prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Take now thy son, thine 2
only son, whom thou lovest, even Isaac, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt

But in the original form of the story the trial, triumph, and reward of Abraham's loyalty were only secondary features. They were intended of course to receive careful attention from the reader, but the main purpose of the narrative was something different. Abraham's willingness to offer his child as a sacrifice to his God was by no means unique; such sacrifices were a familiar form of religious worship amongst the neighbours of Israel, especially in extreme distress or under the influence of some outburst of fanaticism. Thus when the king of Moab was sore pressed by Jehoshaphat and his allies, as a last desperate resource 'he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall[1].' Such sacrifices were not unknown in Israel, Jephthah offered up his daughter[2]; of Ahaz, king of Judah, who reigned about the time when the Elohistic Document was compiled, or somewhat earlier, we read: 'He walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen[3].' The king, of course, would set the fashion in such matters. Thus when the Elohistic Document was published the most striking feature in the story was the voice from heaven which forbade Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. It was an authoritative declaration that God did not require men to slay their children in His honour; He was satisfied with the *willingness* to obey Him to the uttermost. Hence the narrative, together with other passages to the same effect, sets forth one of the points in which O. T. revelation raised the religion of Israel above the level of the cults of its heathen neighbours.

The interest shown in the etymology of Yahweh-jireh[4] suggests that the story was connected with a sanctuary[5], probably Yeruel rather than Yahweh-jireh[6]. We may suppose that this story was preserved at the sanctuary; that in ancient times children had been sacrificed there; and that the tradition explains why rams had been substituted for children. We do not know where this sanctuary was[7].

2. the land of Moriah: *lit.* 'the land of the Moriah.' The Moriah is only mentioned elsewhere once, in 2 Chron. iii. 1, 'Solomon began to build the house of Yahweh at Jerusalem in

[1] 2 Kings iii. 27. [2] Judges xi. 39. [3] 2 Kings xvi. 3.
[4] Verses 9 and 14. [5] So Gunkel.
[6] See notes on verses 9 and 14. [7] See note on Moriah, verse 2.

offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee
3 of. And Abraham rose early in the morning, and saddled
his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and
Isaac his son; and he clave the wood for the burnt offer-
ing, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God
4 had told him. On the third day Abraham lifted up his

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the hill of the Moriah, where Yahweh appeared unto David.' Josephus in his account of our incident also identifies the mountain with the temple hill, and this seems also to have been the view held by the editor who added verse 14. But it is doubtful whether the evidence really shows that the temple hill was called 'the Moriah,' nor would it suit the conditions of the narrative. There is nothing here to suggest that the sacrifice was offered in the immediate neighbourhood of an important city, such as we know Jerusalem to have been at this time. Moreover, it is quite probable that 'Moriah' was not the original word in either place; and that no such name existed in ancient Israel. Instead of 'Moriah' the Septuagint has 'lofty' in our passage and 'Amorite' in *Chronicles*; the Vulgate and some other versions have 'vision' here, but 'Moriah' in *Chronicles*; and the Syriac seems to have read 'Amorite' here. The rest of the narrative suggests that some word was read which could mean 'vision[1].' Some scholars would read 'the land of Moreh[2]'; others 'the land of the Amorites.' Note too that here it is not 'the hill of the Moriah,' as in *Chronicles*, but 'one of the mountains in the land of the Moriah.' Thus we are quite uncertain as to the position of the mountain referred to in the original narrative; the three days' journey implied in verse 4 (see note) is a little indefinite; and nothing, apart from 'the land of the Moriah,' is said about the direction of the journey. As, however, the story was no doubt connected with an Israelite sanctuary, Abraham and Isaac seem to have journeyed northward to some place in the territories which afterwards belonged to the northern kingdom.

The derivation of the name 'Moriah' is uncertain, but both here and in *Chronicles* the writers seem to connect either Moriah or some word which it has replaced with the Hebrew verb 'to see[3],' which is used in verse 8 in the sense of 'provide.'

3. rose early in the morning. See on xix. 27.

place. See on xii. 6.

4. the third day. As they started at dawn on the first day, and were clearly already on their third day's journey when they

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[1] See on verses 8 and 14. [2] See on xii. 6.
[3] R'H, cf. on verse 14.

eyes, and saw the place afar off. And Abraham said 5
unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass, and
I and the lad will go yonder; and we will worship, and
come again to you. And Abraham took the wood of the 6
burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he
took in his hand the fire and the knife; and they went
both of them together. And Isaac spake unto Abraham 7
his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I,
my son. And he said, Behold, the fire and the wood:
but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And Abra- 8
ham said, God will provide himself the lamb for a burnt

saw the place 'afar off,' it would be three days' journey from Beer-sheba. The distance traversed in three days would vary with circumstances; it has been reckoned[1] that the journey from Beer-sheba to Jerusalem would take seventeen hours or rather more.

afar off. As Isaac carried the wood for the burnt-offering from this point to the place of sacrifice, the latter cannot have been very far off, or at any great elevation.

5. we will . . . come again. This need not be taken as false, Abraham still cherishes some faint hope.

6. the wood of the burnt offering. It is implied that though there was a 'thicket,' verse 13, near the place of sacrifice no suitable wood could easily be obtained there.

the fire. We are nowhere expressly told how the ancient Israelites kindled a fire; nor is it said here whence or how Abraham obtained this fire. When Judas Maccabaeus restored the sacrificial ritual at the Temple, we read that fire was procured by 'firing stones and taking fire out of them[2],' possibly, as R. V., by striking stones together. At any rate kindling a fire would be difficult and tedious, hence the patriarch takes with him glowing embers. It was sometimes part of the ritual that an altar fire should be kindled in some definite way—two sons of Aaron were slain for offering 'strange fire[3]'—possibly in bringing 'fire' with him Abraham was observing some ceremonial custom.

7. where is the lamb. The accessories of the sacrifice had all been carefully provided, so that the apparent absence of any victim was all the more striking.

8. God will provide himself: *lit.* 'see for himself,' as we

[1] See Dillmann. [2] 2 Macc. x. 3. [3] Lev. x. 1.

offering, my son: so they went both of them together.
9 And they came to the place which God had told him of;
and Abraham built the altar there, and laid the wood in
order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the
10 altar, upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his
11 hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel
of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said,
12 Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am I. And he
said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou
any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest
God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only
13 son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and
looked, and behold, behind *him* a ram caught in the
thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the
ram, and offered him up for a burnt offering in the stead
14 of his son. [R] And Abraham called the name of that
place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the

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speak of 'seeing to' or 'looking after' anything[1]. Here, as in verse 5, we may discern the faith of the patriarch inspiring him with desperate hope even in his extremity.

9. the place which God had told him of. No name is given, because the place received its name from this event.

11. the angel of the LORD called to him out of heaven. Cf. xxi. 17. The Elohistic writer had 'God'; and Lord (Yahweh) is due to the editor who inserted verses 14-18.

13. behind him **a ram.** Samaritan Text, Septuagint, and many other versions 'one ram' (instead of the four words).

14. (R). **Jehovah-jireh:** *lit.* 'Yahweh will see.' Verse 8 suggests the interpretation 'Yahweh will provide,' a meaning which according to R. V. is also given by the latter part of this verse, **in the mount of the LORD it shall be provided.** R. V. marg., however, renders 'in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen'; a slight alteration of the vowels would give us 'in the mount Yahweh appears,' i. e. 'reveals himself'; or another similar change would give 'in the mount Yahweh provides,' which would suit verse 8 and the previous part of this verse. There are two other

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[1] Cf. on verse 14.

mount of the LORD it shall be provided. And the angel 15
of the LORD called unto Abraham a second time out of
heaven, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the 16
LORD, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not
withheld thy son, thine only son: that in blessing I will 17
bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as
the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon
the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his
enemies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the 18
earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.
[E] So Abraham returned unto his young men, and they 19

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names of altars compounded with Yahweh. We are told[1] that, after the defeat of Amalek, 'Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Yahweh-nissi,' i.e. 'Yahweh is my banner'; and that Gideon[2] built an altar and called it 'Yahweh-shalom,' i.e. 'Yahweh is peace.'

The editor who inserted these verses no doubt intended *Yahweh-yir'eh*[3] to be the equivalent of the 'Moriah' of verse 2, which also might be derived from R'H (the root of *yir'eh*) and Yahweh[4]. Thus Ahaziah, king of Judah, is also called Jehoahaz. If the rendering 'the mount of the Lord' were correct it would mean in Mosaic times Mount Sinai; but this could hardly be intended here; it would rather be the temple hill as in 2 Chron. iii. 1; but the name given in the story as told by the Elohistic writer would not contain Yahweh; it might be *El-yir'eh*, or more probably *Yeruel*.

16. By myself have I sworn. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 13.

saith the LORD. This is a peculiarly emphatic and solemn formula[5], 'Oracle of Yahweh,' commonly used in the prophets to introduce a Divine utterance. In the Pentateuch it only occurs once elsewhere, Num. xiv. 28, P.

17. in blessing, &c.: the sixth blessing of Abraham, cf. xii. 2, J; xiii. 14, J; xv, J and E; xvii, P; xviii. 18, J.

18. be blessed: R.V. marg. 'bless themselves,' cf. xii. 3.

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[1] Exod. xvii. 15, E, which after Exod. iii often uses the Divine name Yahweh.

[2] Judges vi. 24, J?.

[3] A more accurate transliteration than *jireh*.

[4] Cf. on verse 14.

[5] *Ne'um Yahweh.*

rose up and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

20 [J] And it came to pass after these things, that it was told Abraham, saying, Behold, Milcah, she also hath borne
21 children unto thy brother Nahor; Uz his firstborn, and
22 Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram; and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and
23 Bethuel. And Bethuel begat Rebekah: these eight did

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19. Beer-sheba. Cf. xxi. 33.

xxii. 20–24. ABRAHAM'S KINSFOLK (J).

Abraham receives news as to the family of his brother Nahor, showing that Rebekah is the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor and Milcah.

Sources, &c. The genealogy, as usual, represents the relations of tribes; but individual names may have been added.

20. And it came to pass after these things. Probably this clause was added by an editor to connect this paragraph with what precedes, so that 'these things' refers to the offering of Isaac. The previous section of J (so far as it is preserved in *Genesis*) is the birth of Isaac, xxi. 1–7, parts.

Milcah . . . Nahor. Cf. xi. 29.

21. Uz. In x. 23, P (which see), Uz is a son of Aram.

Buz: mentioned in Jer. xxv. 23 with the Arabian districts or tribes Dedan and Thema. In Job xxxii. 2, Elihu comes from Buz. Hence Buz belonged to Arabia Petraea. Esarhaddon's inscriptions mention *Hazu* and *Bazu* in North Arabia; cf., however, Hazo in verse 22.

Kemuel the father of Aram. The territory of Kemuel and the derivation of the name are unknown. Note the similarity of form to Bethuel. In x. 22, P, Aram is the son of Shem.

22. Chesed: only here, but the name would naturally be the collective term for the *Kasdim* or Chaldaeans, cf. Arphaxad, x. 22; Ur of the Chaldees, xi. 28. It has, however, been suggested that Chesed here does not stand for the Chaldaeans of Babylonia, but for a kindred tribe of Northern Syria.

Hazo . . . Pildash . . . Jidlaph: only here, cf. on verse 21, derivation unknown; individual names similar to Pildash are cited from Aramaic and Arabic.

Bethuel: cf. Kemuel in verse 21, also figures in the account of the marriage of Isaac, xxiv, J; xxv. 20, P; and of the exile of Jacob, xxviii. 2, 5, P, but is not mentioned elsewhere. No

Milcah bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother. And his 24
concubine, whose name was Reumah, she also bare
Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and Maacah.

[P] And the life of Sarah was an hundred and seven and 23

mention of any tribe of this name has yet been found; but a Simeonite town Bethuel is referred to in 1 Chron. iv. 30, Bethul in Joshua xix. 4, and Beth-el (i.e. House of God) in 1 Sam. xxx. 27.

23. Rebekah frequently appears in *Genesis* as the wife of Isaac and mother of Jacob, and is referred to in Rom. ix. 10, not elsewhere in the Bible. No reference to any place or tribe of this name is cited. According to Driver[1], Rebekah is an Arabic word meaning a 'loop for tying kids or lambs.'

these eight. Add the four mentioned in verse 24 and we get *twelve* sons of Nahor, cf. the *twelve* tribes of Israel, and the *twelve* Apostles.

24. concubine: a secondary wife of inferior status. The relation between a man and his concubine was quite legitimate, cf. on xxi. 10.

Reumah . . . Tebah . . . Gaham . . . Tahash: mentioned only here in the Bible, and not identified at present with any known places or tribes, unless we read Tebah for Betah, a Syrian town, in 2 Sam. viii. 8. Reumah may be connected with *re'em*, 'wild-ox.' Tahash means 'porpoise.'

Maacah: a district near Hermon, often mentioned in the O. T.

xxiii. Death and Burial of Sarah (P).

1, 2. Sarah dies at Hebron, at the age of 127.

3–18. Abraham buys the cave and field of Machpelah near Hebron for a buryingplace for 400 shekels from Ephron the Hittite.

19. He buries Sarah there.

20. The field and cave remain his property.

Sources, &c. This chapter comes to us from a very late authority, the post-exilic Priestly writer; but, no doubt, in his time the Cave of Machpelah was a holy place, and the traditional grave of the patriarchs. The statements of Josephus and of travellers from his time to the present day indicate that a building, now used as or represented by a Mohammedan mosque, has been shown throughout that period as covering the cave-tomb of the patriarchs. The mosque is at the south-end of Hebron, and

[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

twenty years: these were the years of the life of Sarah.
2 And Sarah died in Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron),
in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for
3 Sarah, and to weep for her. And Abraham rose up
from before his dead, and spake unto the children of
4 Heth, saying, I am a stranger and a sojourner with you:

covers a double cave, which is generally identified with the Priestly writer's Cave of Machpelah. The cave has been seen, but not thoroughly examined, by distinguished European travellers, e. g. the king, when Prince of Wales, in the last forty years. The fullest mediaeval account of it is that of the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela (c. 1163), who tells us that 'with a burning candle in his hand the visitor descends into the first cave which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which contains six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebekah, and Leah, one opposite the other[1].'

It is impossible to say how much older the tradition of Machpelah was than the times of the Priestly writer, or what may have been its historical basis. In early times Machpelah must have been not only a tomb but also a sanctuary for sacrifice and worship. It may have been so old that Israelites and Canaanites quarrelled as to who should possess it, just as to-day the nations of Christendom quarrel as to the Holy Sepulchre. If so, the statements as to the purchase of the field by Abraham would support the Israelite claim[2]. The interest of the Priestly writer would rather be to show that Machpelah was *merely* a tomb and *not* a sanctuary[2]; and probably also to illustrate the legal formulae for the purchase of land. According to the Priestly writer, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were also buried here[3]. Machpelah is only mentioned in the Priestly Document. Sarah is referred to in the N. T.; but in the O. T. she is only mentioned in *Genesis* and in Isa. li. 2.

2. Kiriath-arba: 'City of Four,' according to Judges i. 10 the more ancient name of Hebron. In Joshua xv. 13 Arba is made the name of a man.

3. children of Heth: Hittites, see on xv. 20, used by P as a general term for the Canaanites.

4. stranger and a sojourner: a compound phrase, cf. on xxi. 23, characteristic of P.

[1] Sir C. Warren, MACHPELAH, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, which see for the whole subject.

[2] So Gunkel. [3] Gen. xxv. 9, xxxv. 29, l. 13.

give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. And the children 5
of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, Hear us, 6
my lord: thou art a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead. And Abraham rose up, and bowed him- 7
self to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth. And he communed with them, saying, If it be 8
your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and intreat for me to Ephron the son of Zohar, that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he 9
hath, which is in the end of his field; for the full price let him give it to me in the midst of you for a possession of a buryingplace. Now Ephron was sitting in the midst 10
of the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, even of all that went in at the gate of his city, saying, Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and 11
the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of

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6. a mighty prince: *lit.* a prince of God.

in the choice of our sepulchres. Abraham, however, declines to bury Sarah in a Hittite grave, and purchases a grave, verses 9 ff. Herein, no doubt, he is set forth as an example; the post-exilic Jews attached great importance to the burial of the dead, e.g. *Tobit* i. 18.

9. Machpelah: rather 'the Machpelah,' the name apparently means 'double,' and is so rendered by the Septuagint; the reference may be to the double cave, see above; and the district, verses 17, 19, may have been named after the cave.

9. in the midst of . . . 10. in the audience of: i.e. the purchase was a public legal transaction before the notables of the city, who were witnesses to it.

10. all that went in at the gate: the inhabitants of the city.

11. the field give I thee: a mere piece of conventional politeness, which, with the elaborate courtesy of the whole proceedings, is still part of the ordinary method of bargaining in the East.

the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead.
12 And Abraham bowed himself down before the people of
13 the land. And he spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying, But if thou wilt, I pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field; take it
14 of me, and I will bury my dead there. And Ephron
15 answered Abraham, saying unto him, My lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? bury therefore
16 thy dead. And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the mer-
17 chant. So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that

15. four hundred shekels of silver: a very substantial sum, the price of a dozen slaves, perhaps equivalent in purchasing power to from £1,000 to £2,000 in our time, cf. on xx. 16. In the code of the Babylonian king Hammurabi, *c.* B.C. 2300, the supposed contemporary of Abraham [1], the wages of a working man for a year are fixed at six or eight shekels.

16. weighed: i.e. the payment was reckoned at so much weight of silver, not so many coins.

current money **with the merchant.** This would denote to modern ears coins which were accepted as 'legal tender.' If this is the meaning it would be an indication of the date of the document, as coins are said to have been introduced into Asia by Darius, B.C. 522-485. But the literal rendering is 'silver passing for the merchant,' and may refer to the quality of the silver, or the kind of shekel, e. g. the ordinary shekel of commerce as distinguished from the sacred shekel [2].

17, 18 read like a quotation from a legal document, and are perhaps the correct legal phrases used of such a transaction. In buying land in Arabia it is still customary for the seller to state that he sells all trees, stones, &c., on the land [3].

[1] See on Gen. xiv. 1. [2] So Holzinger.
[3] Forder, *With the Arabs in Tent and Town*, pp. 219 f.

were in all the border thereof round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of 18
the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city. And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his 19
wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre (the same is Hebron), in the land of Canaan. And the 20
field, and the cave that is therein, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the children of Heth.

[J] And Abraham was old, *and* well stricken in age: and 24

XXIV. REBEKAH IS BROUGHT FROM HARAN TO MARRY ISAAC (J).

1-9. Abraham bids his servant fetch a wife for Isaac from his kinsfolk, the family of Nahor.

10-21. The servant journeys to the city of Nahor; at the well where he halts he meets Rebekah, who is divinely indicated as the future wife of Isaac.

22-33. The servant is hospitably entertained by Laban, Rebekah's brother.

34-49. The servant tells the story of his mission, and of his meeting with Rebekah, and asks her in marriage for Isaac.

50-53. Laban and Bethuel, Rebekah's father, consent; and the servant presents gifts to them and to Rebekah.

54-61. Rebekah's mother and Laban seek to delay her departure, but, at her own wish, she sets out at once for Canaan.

62-67. She arrives in Canaan and meets Isaac, who marries her.

Sources, &c. The bringing of Rebekah to Isaac may be a picturesque way of describing the incorporation of Aramaic clans in Israel; but the narrative is much more than this, it is a graphic story of the fortunes of individuals. The various features reproduce well-known experiences of the nomads of the desert; the seeking of a wife from some distant but kindred tribe; the trust reposed in a favourite slave; the meeting of travellers, as in the case of Jacob and Moses, with the women at the well; and the negotiations that led up to a betrothal. In a few graphic touches these familiar scenes of ancient days are lived over again before our eyes. Throughout there is manifest a simple faith in the continual presence and activity of a benevolent Divine Providence.

The reader will note the many features common to this story and that of Jacob and Rachel.

2 the LORD had blessed Abraham in all things. And Abra-
ham said unto his servant, the elder of his house, that
ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under
3 my thigh: and I will make thee swear by the LORD, the
God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou shalt
not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the
4 Canaanites, among whom I dwell: but thou shalt go
unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife for
5 my son Isaac. And the servant said unto him, Perad-
venture the woman will not be willing to follow me unto
this land: must I needs bring thy son again unto the
6 land from whence thou camest? And Abraham said
unto him, Beware thou that thou bring not my son
7 thither again. The LORD, the God of heaven, that took
me from my father's house, and from the land of my
nativity, and that spake unto me, and that sware unto me,
saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land; he shall send
his angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife for my
8 son from thence. And if the woman be not willing to
follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath;
9 only thou shalt not bring my son thither again. And
the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his
10 master, and sware to him concerning this matter. And
the servant took ten camels, of the camels of his master,

2. his servant: corresponding to the Eliezer of xv. 2, E.
thy hand under my thigh: a form giving greater solemnity to the oath, cf. xlvii. 29, J.

3. the God of heaven and the God of the earth. The phrase shows that at the time when the final edition[1] of this document was compiled Yahweh was not regarded as a mere tribal deity.
the daughters of the Canaanites. Cf. xxviii. 1, P.

4. my country . . . my kindred: Haran . . . the family of his brother Nahor.

[1] See p. 23.

and departed; having all goodly things of his master's in his hand: and he arose, and went to Mesopotamia, unto the city of Nahor. And he made the camels to kneel 11
down without the city by the well of water at the time of evening, the time that women go out to draw water. And he said, O LORD, the God of my master Abraham, 12
send me, I pray thee, good speed this day, and shew kindness unto my master Abraham. Behold, I stand by 13
the fountain of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water: and let it come to pass, 14
that the damsel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness unto my master. And it came to pass, before 15
he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of

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10. having all goodly things of his master's in his hand: i.e. taking with him valuable gifts from Abraham for the prospective bride and her family, cf. verses 22 and 53.

Mesopotamia: i.e. 'the district between the rivers (Euphrates and Tigris),' is the Greek name of the northern portion of the district between these two rivers; this is not strictly the equivalent of the original Hebrew *Aram-naharaim*, R.V. marg. 'Aram' [Syria] 'of the two rivers'; or more accurately 'the river district of Syria,' i.e. the Syrian lands on *both* banks of the Upper Euphrates.

city of Nahor: Haran, see xi. 31.

11. to kneel down: the usual attitude for camels when resting.

13. fountain: rather 'spring,' from which the water could be taken to a drinking-trough, see verse 20.

15. Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor. Attention is called to the fact that Bethuel descended from the Chosen Family by both parents, cf. xi. 29.

Bethuel. See xxii. 22. From the absence of any reference to Bethuel except in verse 50, and the mention of the mother,

Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher upon her
16 shoulder. And the damsel was very fair to look upon,
a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went
down to the fountain, and filled her pitcher, and came
17 up. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Give
me to drink, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher.
18 And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hasted, and let
down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave him drink.
19 And when she had done giving him drink, she said, I will
draw for thy camels also, until they have done drinking.
20 And she hasted, and emptied her pitcher into the trough,
and ran again unto the well to draw, and drew for all his
21 camels. And the man looked stedfastly on her; holding
his peace, to know whether the LORD had made his
22 journey prosperous or not. And it came to pass, as the
camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden
ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her
23 hands of ten shekels weight of gold; and said, Whose
daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee. Is there room
24 in thy father's house for us to lodge in? And she said
unto him, I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah,
25 which she bare unto Nahor. She said moreover unto
him, We have both straw and provender enough, and
26 room to lodge in. And the man bowed his head, and
27 worshipped the LORD. And he said, Blessed be the

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verses 28, 55, and the brother Laban as the family authorities, verse 59, it is supposed that Bethuel was dead, and that 'her mother' or the mother's name should be read in verse 50 instead of 'Bethuel.'

18. my lord: practically equivalent to 'Sir.'

20. trough: a drinking-trough for cattle, such as is still found in Syria and Arabia at wells and springs.

22. ring: nose-ring.

shekel. See xx. 16; see verse 47.

LORD, the God of my master Abraham, who hath not forsaken his mercy and his truth toward my master: as for me, the LORD hath led me in the way to the house of my master's brethren. And the damsel ran, and told 28 her mother's house according to these words. And 29 Rebekah had a brother, and his name was Laban: and Laban ran out unto the man, unto the fountain. And it 30 came to pass, when he saw the ring, and the bracelets upon his sister's hands, and when he heard the words of Rebekah his sister, saying, Thus spake the man unto me; that he came unto the man; and, behold, he stood by the camels at the fountain. And he said, Come in, thou 31

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27. his mercy and his truth[1]: rather, as a literal translation, 'his lovingkindness and his faithfulness'; or, in more idiomatic English, 'his faithful lovingkindness.' The pair of coupled words form a compound expression.

the house of my master's brethren: implying that he had not known that the place he had reached was the home of Nahor till he learnt the fact from Rebekah's words.

28. her mother's house. See on verse 15. The phrase has also, but less probably, been explained of the *harem*, or women's appartments.

according to these words: rather 'what had happened[2].'

29. Laban: mentioned here for the first time; the derivation and original reference of the name are not certainly known. There is no place or tribe which can be identified with Laban —the 'Laban' in Deut. i. 1 can have no connexion with Haran. The name is usually connected with the root LBN, 'white,' and variously explained. Thus Hebrew has a word *lebenah*, 'brick,' and Laban has been identified with an Assyrian god of brickwork; and, again, the Hebrew for 'moon' is *lebanah*, and Haran was a seat of the worship of the moon-god, with whom, therefore, Laban is sometimes identified. There is no trace of either idea in *Genesis*, but 'Laban the Syrian[3]' and his dealings with Jacob are typical of the Syrians and their relations with Israel.

30. when he saw the ring: a sarcastic hint at the avarice of Laban and the people whom he represents.

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[1] *Hasdo wa'amitto.* [2] Kautzsch.
[3] Gen. xxv. 20, P.

blessed of the LORD; wherefore standest thou without? for I have prepared the house, and room for the camels.
32 And the man came into the house, and he ungirded the camels; and he gave straw and provender for the camels, and water to wash his feet and the men's feet that were
33 with him. And there was set meat before him to eat: but he said, I will not eat, until I have told mine errand.
34 And he said, Speak on. And he said, I am Abraham's
35 servant. And the LORD hath blessed my master greatly; and he is become great: and he hath given him flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and menservants and
36 maidservants, and camels and asses. And Sarah my master's wife bare a son to my master when she was old:
37 and unto him hath he given all that he hath. And my master made me swear, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, in whose
38 land I dwell: but thou shalt go unto my father's house,

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31. blessed of the LORD. The family of Nahor, Abraham's kinsfolk, worship Yahweh ('the Lord'); and it is chiefly on this ground that Abraham and Isaac seek to marry their sons to women of this house. It is certainly not the intention of the writer to suggest that the Syrians of his time worshipped Yahweh.

32. he ungirded . . . he gave: probably 'Abraham's servant ungirded,' and certainly 'Laban gave.'

34. I am Abraham's servant. Laban has not asked his visitor's name, and now for the first time learns who he is. This is according to Arab etiquette. The host does not ask his guest's name, at any rate till the latter has eaten of his food, lest there should prove to be a blood-feud between them or their tribes. After the guest has eaten with his host he is safe.

36. unto him hath he given all that he hath. See xxv. 5, J, which is sometimes supposed to have stood originally after the first verse of this chapter.

37–48. These verses are mostly a recapitulation in the first person of what has already been related in the third person in the earlier part of the chapter. Often the words used are the same, allowing for the change of persons.

and to my kindred, and take a wife for my son. And 39
I said unto my master, Peradventure the woman will not
follow me. And he said unto me, The LORD, before 40
whom I walk, will send his angel with thee, and prosper
thy way; and thou shalt take a wife for my son of my
kindred, and of my father's house: then shalt thou be 41
clear from my oath, when thou comest to my kindred;
and if they give her not to thee, thou shalt be clear from
my oath. And I came this day unto the fountain, and 42
said, O LORD, the God of my master Abraham, if now
thou do prosper my way which I go: behold, I stand by 43
the fountain of water; and let it come to pass, that the
maiden which cometh forth to draw, to whom I shall say,
Give me, I pray thee, a little water of thy pitcher to
drink; and she shall say to me, Both drink thou, and 44
I will also draw for thy camels: let the same be the
woman whom the LORD hath appointed for my master's
son. And before I had done speaking in mine heart, 45
behold, Rebekah came forth with her pitcher on her
shoulder; and she went down unto the fountain, and
drew: and I said unto her, Let me drink, I pray thee.
And she made haste, and let down her pitcher from her 46
shoulder, and said, Drink, and I will give thy camels
drink also: so I drank, and she made the camels drink
also. And I asked her, and said, Whose daughter art 47
thou? And she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Nahor's
son, whom Milcah bare unto him: and I put the ring
upon her nose, and the bracelets upon her hands. And 48
I bowed my head, and worshipped the LORD, and blessed
the LORD, the God of my master Abraham, which had
led me in the right way to take my master's brother's
daughter for his son. And now if ye will deal kindly and 49
truly with my master, tell me: and if not, tell me; that

50 I may turn to the right hand, or to the left. Then Laban
and Bethuel answered and said, The thing proceedeth
from the LORD: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good.
51 Behold, Rebekah is before thee, take her, and go, and let
her be thy master's son's wife, as the LORD hath spoken.
52 And it came to pass, that, when Abraham's servant heard
their words, he bowed himself down to the earth unto
53 the LORD. And the servant brought forth jewels of
silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them
to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her
54 mother precious things. And they did eat and drink, he
and the men that were with him, and tarried all night;
and they rose up in the morning, and he said, Send me
55 away unto my master. And her brother and her mother
said, Let the damsel abide with us *a few* days, at the

49. turn to the right hand, or to the left: i. e. 'know what to do.'

50. Bethuel. See verse 15.

The thing proceedeth from the LORD: because of the sign that had been given to Abraham's servant, verses 12–19, 42–46.

speak unto thee bad or good. 'Say yes or no.'

51. take her, and go. Rebekah's consent is taken for granted; the marriage, as in the East to-day, is negotiated between the friends of the betrothed couple.

53. mother. See verse 15.

precious things. The price of the bride paid to her family; cf. Exod. xxii. 16, 'he shall pay a price[1] for her to be his wife.'

55. a few **days, at the least ten**: rather, to use a colloquial phrase, 'ten days or so.' The Samaritan text has 'a (few) days or a month'; the Syriac 'a month'; the Septuagint 'about ten days.' It was certainly startling that Rebekah's family should be asked to let her leave them at once, that very morning, for a distant land with a man whom none of them had ever seen till the previous evening, to marry a cousin whom they had never seen;

[1] The Hebrew word is *mohar*, a technical term for the price a bridegroom pays for his bride to her family. Naturally there is no English equivalent of this word; the A. V. 'endow her' and the R. V. 'pay a dowry for her' are alike misleading.

least ten; after that she shall go. And he said unto 56
them, Hinder me not, seeing the LORD hath prospered
my way; send me away that I may go to my master.
And they said, We will call the damsel, and inquire at 57
her mouth. And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, 58
Wilt thou go with this man? And she said, I will go.
And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, 59
and Abraham's servant, and his men. And they blessed 60
Rebekah, and said unto her, Our sister, be thou *the mother*
of thousands of ten thousands, and let thy seed possess
the gate of those which hate them. And Rebekah arose, 61
and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and
followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and
went his way. And Isaac came from the way of Beer- 62
lahai-roi; for he dwelt in the land of the South. And 63
Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide:

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especially as it was not very likely that they would ever see her again; and, as it turned out, they never did see her.

56. Hinder me not. It is probably implied, cf. verse 1, that Abraham was failing when the servant left him, and that the servant was anxious to bring the bride back while his master was still living.

58. I will go. In this ready consent we may see the hand of Yahweh.

59. their sister. Again, cf. verse 15, no reference to the father, the brother is treated as the head of the family; 'their' is used because the author refers to the joint action of Laban and the mother; he uses the loose phrase 'their sister' to avoid the cumbrous expression 'his sister and her daughter'; the term 'sister' shows that the relationship to Laban was more important than that to the mother.

her nurse. In xxxv. 8, E, her name is given as Deborah.

60. possess the gate. See xxii. 17.

61. the camels. See verse 10.

62. from the way of Beer-lahai-roi: Septuagint, 'through the wilderness to B.' For Beer-lahai-roi, see xvi. 14. Cf. on the next verse.

63. Isaac went out to meditate. We should have expected to hear of the servant's return to Abraham to report the success of

and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, there
64 were camels coming. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes,
65 and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off the camel. And she said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my master: and she took her veil, and covered herself.
66 And the servant told Isaac all the things that he had

his mission. The absence of any such statement suggests that the Primitive Document contained an account of the death of Abraham between verses 61 and 62, and that this was omitted by the editor to make room for the Priestly narrative of the patriarch's end in xxv. 7 ff. Hence we may conclude that in this story, as originally told, Abraham died while his servant was away, so that naturally Rebekah was brought to Isaac. This view would lead us to accept the Septuagint of the previous verse (which see), and to understand that Isaac removed to Beer-lahai-roi in consequence of his father's death. Cf. verse 65.

meditate[1]. The rendering is uncertain; 'meditate' does not make good sense; 'pray' is hardly better; 'mourn' might be suitable if we could make it refer to an omitted account of his father's death. The Syriac version has 'walk[2].'

field: open country.

eventide: cool of the day.

64. lighted off the camel. The next verse shows that Rebekah did not know that the stranger was Isaac; but his dress and appearance would show that he was a person of importance—a sheikh—and she may have supposed that it was her future husband. Hence she alighted that she might veil herself and show him all due respect.

65. my master: implying that Abraham was dead, cf. on verse 63.

covered herself: after the usual Eastern etiquette. Isaac, of course, not being yet her husband, was on the same footing as other men. Thus Lane[3]: 'The bridegroom can scarcely ever obtain even a surreptitious glance at the features of his bride until he finds her in his absolute possession, unless she belong to the lower classes of society, in which case it is easy enough for him to see her face.'

[1] *Suah.*

[2] Apparently reading *shut.*

[3] *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1895 ed., p. 172.

done. And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's 67
tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and
he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's
death.

And Abraham took another wife, and her name was 25
Keturah. And she bare him Zimran, and Jokshan, and 2

67. his mother Sarah's tent. The bad grammar of the Hebrew as it now stands shows that the words 'his mother Sarah' are an editorial addition; we should read 'into the tent.' At the same time the addition is quite in accordance with Eastern custom, a sheikh's wife may have a tent or tents for herself and her women and children, as in the case of Rachel and Leah[1]; and though Sarah had been dead some time her tent would still remain, and might be spoken of as hers.

he loved her: a fact which could not be taken for granted under the circumstances.

his mother's death. We should probably read his *father's* death; Sarah seems to have died some time before; and the word 'mother's' here will be an alteration by the editor who omitted the Primitive account of the death of Abraham, and placed that event somewhat later, cf. on verse 63.

XXV. 1–4. ABRAHAM'S CHILDREN BY KETURAH.
(A late addition to, or misplaced section of, the Primitive Document.)

Abraham takes a second wife, Keturah, and by her becomes the ancestor of numerous Arab tribes.

Sources, &c. In considering xxiv. 63 we have seen that probably the Primitive Document narrated the death of Abraham in connexion with the marriage of Isaac. Hence these verses will either be a later addition, or else they have been inserted in the wrong place by an editor. They indicate the kinship between Israel and certain Arab tribes.

1. Keturah: 'bound' or 'incense,' only mentioned here and in 1 Chron. i. 32 f., borrowed from this passage. In *Chronicles* Keturah is called a concubine because the chronicler is anxious that Sarah, the mother of Isaac the ancestor of Israel, should be regarded as the only legitimate wife of Abraham. An Arab tribe, *Katura*, residing near Mecca, is mentioned by Arab writers.

2. Zimran: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32, unless the same as the *Zimri*, mentioned Jer. xxv. 25 in connexion with Arabia. The name is derived from *zemer*, 'a chamois,' perhaps the totem of the tribe[2].

[1] Gen. xxxi. 33.
[2] Cf. Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archaeology*, p. 96.

3 Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah. And
Jokshan begat Sheba, and Dedan. And the sons of
Dedan were Asshurim, and Letushim, and Leummim.
4 And the sons of Midian; Ephah, and Epher, and
Hanoch, and Abida, and Eldaah. All these were the

Jokshan: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32; derivation of name and habitat of tribe unknown, but latter doubtless in Arabia.

Medan: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32; probably not a real name, but due to the accidental repetition of Midian in copying. In xxxvii. 36 'Medanites' is written for the 'Midianites' of xxxvii. 28.

Midian: a nomad tribe frequently mentioned in the O. T., and found sometimes east and sometimes south of Palestine.

Ishbak: only here and 1 Chron. i. 32; derivation of name uncertain, sometimes identified with a tribe of North Syria, *Yasbuk*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.

Shuah: only here, 1 Chron. i. 32, and Job ii. 11, &c., where Bildad the Shuhite is no doubt intended to belong to this tribe; derivation of name uncertain, sometimes identified with a tribe west of Euphrates near Carchemish, *Suahu*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.

3. Sheba, and Dedan. See x. 7.

the sons of Dedan. There is no parallel to this clause in *Chronicles*; the form of the names—plurals 'Asshurites,' &c.—is different from that of the others, so that the clause may have been added to *Genesis* after *Chronicles* was written, *c.* B. C. 300.

Asshurim: i. e. Asshurites, see on x. 11, but cf. also verse 18.

Letushim, and Leummim: i. e. 'Letushites and Leummites,' only here, derivation of names and habitat of tribes unknown. Somewhat similar names are cited from Arabian inscriptions. *Leummim* is usually a common noun 'peoples.' The names have been taken to denote trades. The Septuagint adds two other 'sons of Dedan,' Raguel and Nabdeel.

4. Ephah: only here, 1 Chron. i. 33, and Isa. lx. 6, 'the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah'; derivation of name uncertain, sometimes identified with an Arab tribe '*Ayappa*, mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions.

Epher: only here and 1 Chron. i. 33; derivation and habitat uncertain; possibly not a real name but due to an accidental repetition of Ephah in copying; cf. on Medan in verse 2.

Hanoch. The Hebrew name is the same as that rendered Enoch in iv. 17 (which see) and elsewhere. This tribe is only mentioned here and 1 Chron. i. 33, and its habitat is unknown.

children of Keturah. And Abraham gave all that he 5
had unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines, 6
which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts; and he sent
them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, east-
ward, unto the east country. [P] And these are the 7
days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived, an
hundred threescore and fifteen years. And Abraham 8
gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, an old
man, and full *of years*; and was gathered to his people.
And Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him in the cave 9
of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar
the Hittite, which is before Mamre; the field which 10
Abraham purchased of the children of Heth: there was
Abraham buried, and Sarah his wife. And it came to 11

Abida, and Eldaah: only here and 1 Chron. i. 33; derivation and habitat uncertain.

XXV. 5–11. DEATH AND BURIAL OF ABRAHAM.

(Chiefly the Priestly Document, cf. analysis below.)

5, 6. (J) Abraham gives Isaac his property, after having sent away the sons of the concubines with gifts.

7–11 a^1. (P) Abraham dies and is buried by Isaac and Ishmael in the cave of Machpelah.

11 b^2. (J) Isaac settles at Beer-lahai-roi.

5. See on xxiv. 36, 63.

6. This verse is often regarded as an explanatory note added by an editor. If it belongs to the original story it may have been given (see references on verse 5) at an earlier point.

concubines. See on xxii. 24, the reference probably is to Hagar and Keturah, which is not quite consistent with verse 1.

8. was gathered to his people: i. e. buried in the family grave at Machpelah, though the family at present was only represented there by Sarah. Such a use would imply a complete severance from his ancestor, and the constitution of Abraham into a new people. The phrase, however, may be used in a mere conventional sense for 'died'; it is often supposed to refer to the gathering of kinsfolk in one place in *Sheol*, the Hebrew *Hades* or home of the dead.

9. Machpelah. See on xxiii. 19.

[1] As far as 'his son.' [2] From 'and Isaac.'

pass after the death of Abraham, that God blessed Isaac his son; [J] and Isaac dwelt by Beer-lahai-roi.

12 [P] Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abra-
ham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's handmaid,
13 bare unto Abraham: and these are the names of the
sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their
generations: the firstborn of Ishmael, Nebaioth; and
14 Kedar, and Adbeel, and Mibsam, and Mishma, and
15 Dumah, and Massa; Hadad, and Tema, Jetur, Naphish,

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11. blessed Isaac: i. e. the special blessing of the chosen family was transmitted through Isaac and not through Ishmael.

XXV. 12–17. THE DESCENDANTS OF ISHMAEL (P).

Ishmael's family, his death and burial.

12. generations. See ii. 4.

13–16 *a*. This list of Ishmael's sons also occurs in 1 Chron. i. 29 ff. The following names are only found in these two passages, and in the case of those marked with an asterisk, the derivation of the name and the habitat of the tribe are unknown, except that all are no doubt Arab tribes. ***Adbeel, *Massa, Kedemah** (eastern).

13. Nebaioth. Only elsewhere xxviii. 9, xxxvi. 3; 1 Chron. i. 29; Isa. lx. 7; an important people of Northern Arabia, known in later times as Nabataeans.

Kedar. An important Arab tribe often mentioned in the O. T. and in the Assyrian inscriptions. Its exact habitat is unknown.

Adbeel. Perhaps the Arabian tribe Idibi'il mentioned in an Assyrian inscription with Tema, Sheba, and Ephah.

Mibsam = 'sweet odour,' and

14. Mishma: also clans of Simeon in 1 Chron. iv. 25; apparently these two clans were sometimes reckoned to Simeon, and sometimes to the Bedouin south of Palestine. If so they must have belonged to that district.

Dumah = 'silence' (?) It is doubtful whether this Dumah is the same as that of Isa. xxi. 11, or as that of Joshua xv. 52. Some manuscripts of the Septuagint have *Idouma* both here and in *Chronicles*. Dumah may be a corruption of Edom, the Dumah of Isaiah is connected with Seir (another name for the territory of Edom).

15. Hadad: the name of the supreme god of Syria, also of various Edomite kings or princes, xxxvi. 35, 39 R. V. marg.,

and Kedemah: these are the sons of Ishmael, and these 16
are their names, by their villages, and by their encamp-
ments; twelve princes according to their nations. And 17
these are the years of the life of Ishmael, an hundred
and thirty and seven years: and he gave up the ghost
and died; and was gathered unto his people. [J] And 18
they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur that is before Egypt,
as thou goest toward Assyria: he abode in the presence
of all his brethren.

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1 Kings xi. 14. Here, so A. V. and elsewhere, *Hadar* is read by some authorities instead of *Hadad*, 'r' and 'd' being almost identical in the 'square Hebrew' of the MSS. and printed editions.

Tema = 'southern,' mentioned in Isa. xxi. 13 f., Jer. xxv. 23 in connexion with Dedan, and in Job vi. 19 in connexion with Sheba; perhaps the modern *Teima* in Northern Arabia.

Jetur, Naphish: mentioned with Nodab in 1 Chron. v. 19 as Hagrite tribes, whose territory, apparently afterwards part of the Israelite dominion east of Jordan, was conquered and occupied by Reuben, Gad, and Eastern Manasseh. Jetur is often identified with the Ituraeans.

16. villages[1] **. . . encampments**[2]. It is not certain whether both the Hebrew words refer to movable camps, or whether the former means permanent 'villages.'

twelve: like the tribes of Israel and the sons of Nahor, xxii. 20 ff.

nations[3]: a technical term for a tribe or clan.

17. gathered unto his people. See verse 8.

xxv. 18. THE TERRITORY OF ISHMAEL (?).

Sources, &c. This very obscure verse is meant by the editor to refer to the Ishmaelites, so that it probably did refer to them in the source from which he took it. The beginning of the verse is generally ascribed to J, and sometimes supposed to be the conclusion of J's account of Hagar and Ishmael, xvi. 1–14. From **Havilah** (see on ii. 11) to **Shur** (see on xvi. 7) may mean from North-East Arabia to the borders of Egypt.

The second part of the verse, 'as thou goest toward Assyria,' &c., &c., is commonly regarded as made up of later additions.

as thou goest toward Assyria suggests that the territory extended north-east towards the Euphrates, unless Asshur

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[1] *ḥaṣer.* [2] *Ṭirah.* [3] *Ummah.*

19 [P] And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's
20 son: Abraham begat Isaac: and Isaac was forty years
old when he took Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel the
Syrian of Paddan-aram, the sister of Laban the Syrian,
21 to be his wife. [J] And Isaac intreated the LORD for
his wife, because she was barren: and the LORD was
22 intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived. And
the children struggled together within her; and she said,

(Assyria) here and xxv. 3 is a territory between Egypt and Palestine.

abode (R.V. marg. 'settled' Hebrew 'fell') **in the presence of** (R. V. marg. 'over against') **all his brethren,** cf. xvi. 12.

xxv. 19, 20. THE MARRIAGE OF ISAAC (P).

20. Syrian. Hebrew 'Aramaean,' see on x. 22; in J, xxii. 22, Bethuel is a son of Nahor and related to Abraham; but according to P Abraham and Nahor are connected by a long descent, x. 22, xi, with Arpachshad, the brother of Aram.

Paddan-aram: only in the Priestly portions of *Genesis*; in J, xxiv. 10, 'the city of Nahor' is in Aram-naharaim. There is no certain explanation of 'Paddan'; according to one theory it represents an Assyrian word for 'field.' According to Hos. xii. 12 'Jacob fled into the field[1] of Aram.'

xxv. 21–26. BIRTH OF JACOB AND ESAU.

(Primitive Document, except 26*b* = P.)

21–23. The barren Rebekah conceives through Isaac's prayers. Distressed at the symptoms of her pregnancy she obtains an oracle from Yahweh.

24–26*a*[2]. She bears twins, first the red, hairy Esau, then Jacob.

26*b*[3]. (P) At this time Isaac was seventy.

Sources, &c. This narrative expresses a belief in the close relationship of Israel and Edom. The oracle in verse 23 was doubtless a popular proverbial poem current long before the Primitive Document was compiled. Probably in the original story ch. xxvi, which narrates incidents at Gerar and does not refer to Jacob and Esau, stood before this section.

22. children: implying twins.

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[1] *Sadeh.* [2] As far as 'Jacob.' [3] From 'and Isaac.'

If it be so, wherefore do I live? And she went to inquire of the LORD. And the LORD said unto her, 23

Two nations are in thy womb,
And two peoples shall be separated even from thy bowels:
And the one people shall be stronger than the other people;
And the elder shall serve the younger.

And when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, behold, 24
there were twins in her womb. And the first came forth 25
red, all over like an hairy garment; and they called his name Esau. And after that came forth his brother, and 26

If it be so, wherefore do I live? perhaps meaning that the pain was too great to bear; the R. V. marg. 'wherefore am I thus,' i. e. 'pregnant,' might suggest a fear of miscarriage. The words are practically unintelligible.

went to inquire of the LORD: i. e. consulted the oracle at some sanctuary of Yahweh.

23. the elder shall serve the younger. In this line popular tradition preserves the recollection of a time when Edom (Esau), 'the elder,' was superior to Israel (Jacob). Edom was a settled, organized monarchy while Israel was still a loose group of nomad tribes; but David conquered Edom[1], and then 'the elder' (Edom) served 'the younger' (Israel). This dependence of Edom on Israel or Judah continued with intervals perhaps as late as the reign of Uzziah. This short poem may have originated in the exaltation of the Israelites at David's conquests.

25. red (R. V. marg. 'ruddy'), **all over like an hairy garment; and they called his name Esau.** We should expect to find in these words a derivation of the name Esau, but none is given; there doubtless was one in the original story, but it has been replaced by the editor by two etymologies *connected* with other names of Esau; 'red,' *'admoni*, would explain *Edom*[2]; and 'hair,' *se'ar*, would explain *Seir*.

they called: i. e. 'people called,' in idiomatic English 'his name was called.' 'They' must be understood as indefinite.

Esau. No probable explanation of this name has yet been suggested.

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[1] 2 Sam. viii. 14. [2] Cf. verse 30.

his hand had hold on Esau's heel; and his name was called Jacob: [P] and Isaac was threescore years old when
27 she bare them. [J] And the boys grew: and Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field; and Jacob was a
28 plain man, dwelling in tents. Now Isaac loved Esau,

26. heel; and his name was called Jacob: R. V. marg. 'That is, *One that takes by the heel* or *supplants*.' 'Heel' = *'aqeb*; 'Jacob' = *Ya'aqob*, cf. Hos. xii. 3. In Gen. xxvii. 36, J, the name is explained as 'supplanter.' Jacob is commonly regarded now as a contraction for *Jacob-el*, which is variously explained 'God follows,' &c. The Babylonian equivalents of both Jacob and Jacob-el are said to occur in Babylonian documents of the time of Hammurabi[1]. Jacob, like Israel, is also used as the name of the people, and Jacob is sometimes regarded as an eponymous ancestor, i. e. both name and individual are supposed to have originated from the people. But neither Jacob nor Jacob-el looks like a tribal name[2]; and Jacob may be a corruption of an older form of the name; or Jacob (-el) may have been the name of an ancient tribal hero, and stories concerning this hero may have been combined with other narratives giving tribal history in the form of stories of the life of Israel, the eponymous ancestor of the nation.

XXV. 27–34. ESAU SELLS HIS BIRTHRIGHT (J).

27, 28. Esau becomes a hunter, Jacob a dweller in tents; Esau is his father's and Jacob his mother's favourite.

29–34. Esau comes in hungry from hunting, and sells his birthright to Jacob for bread and lentil pottage.

Sources, &c. Scholars are divided as to whether this section belongs to E or J, and the ascription to J must only be taken as probable, not as certain. This narrative, like the oracle in the previous section, explains why it was legitimate for Israel to be the superior and suzerain of Edom, although Edom was the older state.

27. cunning: skilful.

man of the field: a description of the hunter, who spends his time in the 'field,' i. e. the open country.

a plain man. For 'plain' R. V. marg. offers the alternatives of 'quiet' or 'harmless,' the Hebrew meaning literally 'perfect.' No doubt the author (an Israelite) implies the same kind of contrast between Esau and Jacob as that expressed by 'Bohemian' and 'respectable.'

dwelling in tents: a nomad herdsman, cf. iv. 20.

28. Cf. xxvii. 4 ff.

[1] See p. 16, and on xiv. 1.

[2] Cf. Cheyne, *Encycl. Bibl.*

because he did eat of his venison: and Rebekah loved
Jacob. And Jacob sod pottage: and Esau came in 29
from the field, and he was faint: and Esau said to Jacob, 30
Feed me, I pray thee, with that same red *pottage*; for I
am faint: therefore was his name called Edom. And 31
Jacob said, Sell me this day thy birthright. And Esau 32
said, Behold, I am at the point to die: and what profit
shall the birthright do to me? And Jacob said, Swear 33
to me this day; and he sware unto him: and he sold
his birthright unto Jacob. And Jacob gave Esau bread 34
and pottage of lentils; and he did eat and drink, and

29. sod pottage: was boiling soup.

30. that same red pottage: literally, 'the red! this red!' A fair equivalent in colloquial English would be, 'some of that red stuff! that red stuff there!'

Edom. The Hebrew for 'red' is *'Adom*. The name is sometimes derived from the red cliffs of Edom, sometimes supposed to be merely another form of *Adam*, 'man,' and sometimes to be the name of a deity[1]. In xiv. 6 the Horites are placed in Mount Seir (Edom) presumably before the Edomites; but it is not clear how far this view can be pushed or to what exact date the Edomite occupation of Mount Seir can be traced back[2]. But we may probably conclude from a variety of evidence that the Edomites were settled in their territory before the Israelites conquered Canaan.

31 and 33. this day: R. V. marg. 'first of all.'

31. birthright. According to Israelite law and custom in the time of the monarchy the eldest son was the head of the family, and had the largest share of the property, Deut. xxi. 15–17. It is remarkable, however, that the inheritance of the promise in the chosen family is constantly traced through youngest or younger sons, thus Abraham, Isaac, Jacob. Further, Joseph is almost, and perhaps in the original story quite, the youngest son of Jacob. David and Solomon are also youngest sons. It has been supposed that these facts indicate 'a state of society in which succession went by junior-right,' i. e. the youngest, not the eldest son, inherited, a custom found in various communities at different periods[3].

[1] Cf. *Obed-Edom* and *Obadiah*.

[2] The deductions which may be drawn from Egyptian and Assyrian sources are still matters of controversy.

[3] Cf. Jacobs, *Biblical Archaeology*, pp. 46 ff.

rose up, and went his way: so Esau despised his birthright.

26 [R] And there was a famine in the land, beside the first

34. despised his birthright: and so showed himself unworthy of it.

xxvi. 1–33. ISAAC AT GERAR.

1–5. (R) On account of a famine Isaac, forbidden by Yahweh to go to Egypt, sojourns at Gerar; and Yahweh renews to him the promise given to Abraham.

6–11. (J) Isaac sojourns at Gerar, and represents that Rebekah is his sister; the king, Abimelech, discovers the deceit.

12–14. (J) Isaac grows corn, and becomes rich, so that his wealth excites the envy of the Philistines.

15–33. (J) Isaac and his herdsmen dispute with the Philistines for the possession of certain wells. The dispute is settled by a covenant, and on the day of the covenant (by oath) a well is found by Isaac's servants and named the 'Well of the Oath'—Beer-sheba.

Sources, &c. This section belongs in the main[1] to the Primitive Document, J. It consists chiefly of new editions of narratives which we have already met with elsewhere: (*a*) *The Patriarch's Wife and the Harem of a Gentile King*; (*b*) *The Patriarch, the King of Gerar, and the Wells.*

(*a*) *The Patriarch's Wife and the Harem of a Gentile King.* This story has already been told of Sarah and Pharaoh; and of Sarah and Abimelech of Gerar[2]. In this account, however, the experience of the patriarch's wife is less painful than in the other two, she is not actually taken into the harem. This feature perhaps marks a late version of the story; or it may be due to the fact that the story is told of Isaac. The Hebrew for 'Isaac was sporting' is *Yiçhaq meçaheq*, 'the Sporter sporting' or 'the Laugher laughing.'

(*b*) *The Patriarch, the King of Gerar, and the Wells.* This story has already been told[3] more briefly of Abraham. In both versions we have Abimelech and Phicol, the scene is laid at Beer-sheba, and the dispute is ended by a covenant, which gives name to Beer-sheba.

The editor was conscious of the resemblances between this and previous sections, and makes various additions to explain that, in his opinion, these stories are sequels to, and not repetitions of, those which he has previously narrated.

The various incidents, such as the dangers which even married

[1] Cf. below.

[2] Gen. xii. 10–20 (J), and xx (E), see notes on these passages.

[3] Gen. xxi. 22–34, which see.

famine that was in the days of Abraham. And Isaac went unto Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar. And the LORD appeared unto him, and said, Go not 2
down into Egypt; dwell in the land which I shall tell thee of: sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and 3
will bless thee; for unto thee, and unto thy seed, I will give all these lands, and I will establish the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father; and I will multiply thy 4
seed as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all these lands; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because that Abraham obeyed my 5
voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws. [J] And Isaac dwelt in Gerar: and 6, 7
the men of the place asked him of his wife; and he said, She is my sister: for he feared to say, My wife; lest, *said he*, the men of the place should kill me for Rebekah: because she was fair to look upon. And it came to 8
pass, when he had been there a long time, that Abime-

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women ran amongst strangers, and the expedients to which they had resort; the disputes about the wells, and the covenants by which they were ended, were familiar features of the ancient life, which were naturally reproduced in the stories told of tribal heroes.

1. a famine: as in xii. 10.

beside the first famine that was in the days of Abraham: probably an addition of the editor, cf. above.

Abimelech . . . Gerar. See xx. 2.

Philistines. See xxi. 32. The mention of the Philistines is an anachronism, as they did not settle in Palestine till after the Exodus.

2-5. These verses are largely a repetition of the blessings to Abraham, xii. 2, 3, 7, xv. 5, xvii. 7, xxii. 17, and are probably an addition of the editor, with the exception of 'And Yahweh appeared unto him, and said . . . "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee."'

7. my sister. Cf. xii. 13, 19, xx. 5.

should kill me. Cf. xii. 12, xx. 11.

fair to look upon. Cf. xii. 11.

lech king of the Philistines looked out at a window, and saw, and, behold, Isaac was sporting with Rebekah his
9 wife. And Abimelech called Isaac, and said, Behold, of a surety she is thy wife: and how saidst thou, She is my sister? And Isaac said unto him, Because I said, Lest
10 I die for her. And Abimelech said, What is this thou hast done unto us? one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife, and thou shouldest have brought guilti-
11 ness upon us. And Abimelech charged all the people, saying, He that toucheth this man or his wife shall
12 surely be put to death. And Isaac sowed in that land, and found in the same year an hundredfold: and the
13 LORD blessed him. And the man waxed great, and
14 grew more and more until he became very great: and he had possessions of flocks, and possessions of herds, and a great household: and the Philistines envied him.

8. Isaac was sporting. See above.

9. Lest I die for her. Cf. xx. 11.

10. What is this, &c. Cf. xii. 18, xx. 10.

guiltiness. The guilt would have arisen from the fact that Rebekah was a married woman; and according to the ideas of the time the ignorance of the offender would not have excused him.

12. Isaac sowed. Seed, seed time, and harvest have been mentioned before[1], but there has been no reference to any actual 'sowing.' Perhaps we have here a trace of a story in which the cultivation of grain was first instituted by Isaac. But this can hardly be the meaning of the statement in its present context. It may be connected with the long time (verse 8) of Isaac's sojourning there, and with Yahweh's making room (verse 22) for him in the land; and suggests the idea that the Israelites before the Exodus were not always nomads, but that some of them, at any rate, settled down and became cultivators of the soil. In this and many other of the patriarchal narratives it is implied that Israel had *rights* to the soil of Canaan, acquired before the captivity in Egypt.

an hundredfold: an exceptional, but not an unparalleled, return. cf Mark iv. 8, 'thirtyfold and sixtyfold and a hundredfold.'

[1] Gen. i. 11 (P), viii. 22. (J).

Now all the wells which his father's servants had digged 15
in the days of Abraham his father, the Philistines had
stopped them, and filled them with earth. And 16
Abimelech said unto Isaac, Go from us; for thou art
much mightier than we. And Isaac departed thence, 17
and encamped in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there.
And Isaac digged again the wells of water, which they 18
had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the
Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham:
and he called their names after the names by which his
father had called them. And Isaac's servants digged in 19
the valley, and found there a well of springing water.
And the herdmen of Gerar strove with Isaac's herdmen, 20
saying, The water is ours: and he called the name of the
well Esek; because they contended with him. And 21
they digged another well, and they strove for that also:
and he called the name of it Sitnah. And he removed 22
from thence, and digged another well; and for that they
strove not: and he called the name of it Rehoboth; and
he said, For now the LORD hath made room for us, and
we shall be fruitful in the land. And he went up from 23
thence to Beer-sheba. And the LORD appeared unto 24
him the same night, and said, I am the God of Abraham

15, 18. These verses are commonly regarded as additions by the editor, who wished to distinguish this narrative from xxi.

19. springing: R. V. marg. 'living.'

20. the herdmen . . . strove. Cf. xxi. 25.

Esek: the Hebrew for 'contention'; the site is unknown, only mentioned here.

21. Sitnah: the Hebrew for 'enmity'; a modern *Shutnet* is mentioned near the Rehoboth of verse 22, only mentioned here.

22. Rehoboth: the Hebrew for 'broad places,' often identified with a modern *Ruhebe* some distance south of Beer-sheba. *This* Rehoboth is only mentioned here.

23. Beer-sheba. See on xxi. 14, 31–33.

thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless
thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's
25 sake. And he builded an altar there, and called upon
the name of the LORD, and pitched his tent there: and
26 there Isaac's servants digged a well. Then Abimelech
went to him from Gerar, and Ahuzzath his friend, and
27 Phicol the captain of his host. And Isaac said unto
them, Wherefore are ye come unto me, seeing ye hate
28 me, and have sent me away from you? And they said,
We saw plainly that the LORD was with thee: and we
said, Let there now be an oath betwixt us, even betwixt
29 us and thee, and let us make a covenant with thee; that
thou wilt do us no hurt, as we have not touched thee,
and as we have done unto thee nothing but good, and
have sent thee away in peace: thou art now the blessed
30 of the LORD. And he made them a feast, and they did
31 eat and drink. And they rose up betimes in the morning, and sware one to another: and Isaac sent them
32 away, and they departed from him in peace. And it
came to pass the same day, that Isaac's servants came,
and told him concerning the well which they had digged,
33 and said unto him, We have found water. And he called
it Shibah: therefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba
unto this day.

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26. Ahuzzath = 'possession,' only here. In Goliath we hath another Philistine name in *ath*.

his friend. 'Friend' was a technical term for an official of a royal court; cf. 1 Chron. xxvii. 33, 'Hushai the Archite was the king's friend.' Our information does not enable us to define the precise duties of this official, but we may think of him as a 'secretary of state.'

Phicol. See xxi. 22.

28. Let there now be an oath. Cf. xxi. 23.

31. sware. Cf. xxi. 31.

33. Shibah = 'oath,' cf. xxi. 31.

[P] And when Esau was forty years old he took to 34
wife Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Base-
math the daughter of Elon the Hittite: and they were a 35
grief of mind unto Isaac and to Rebekah.

[JE] And it came to pass, that when Isaac was old, **27**

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xxvi. 34, 35. Esau's Wives (P).

Esau grieves his parents by marrying two Hittite women.

Sources, &c. This section may point to the connexion of Edom with its Canaanite[1] neighbours. Its interest for the Priestly writer and his post-exilic readers lay in the implied condemnation of intermarriage with Canaanites. Cf. xxxvi. 2, 3.

34. Judith: only here in our O. T., but the name was borrowed for the heroine of the Book of Judith. But as Judith = 'Jewess' the name here must be a corruption of some other if the section has any historical basis; or indeed one would think in any case.

Beeri = 'belonging to the well,' also the name of the father of the prophet Hosea.

Hittite. See on xv. 20, xxiii. 3.

Basemath. In xxxvi. 2, 3 (which see), usually regarded as a late addition to the Priestly Document and therefore not by the same author as this verse, we have a list of Esau's wives which cannot be reconciled with this passage. There, too, Esau marries a daughter of Elon the Hittite, but her name is *Adah*; he also marries a Basemath; but *she* is a daughter of Ishmael; whereas in a third passage, xxviii. 9, P, an obvious sequel to this verse, Esau marries a daughter of Ishmael, but her name is *Mahalath*. The confusion is doubtless due to the carelessness of writers and scribes as to names which were nothing but names. The name probably = 'fragrance'; it was also borne by a daughter of Solomon, 1 Kings iv. 15.

Elon: perhaps originally the name of a place connected with the words for 'oak' or 'terebinth,' *'Elon*, *'Elah*, &c., only here and xxxvi. 2; but the same name is found for a clan of Zebulun, xlvi. 14, and one of the Judges[2].

35. grief of mind. R. V. marg. Heb. 'bitterness of spirit.'

xxvii. 1–45. Jacob and Rebekah defraud Esau of his Father's Blessing, Jacob's Flight.

(A narrative compiled by piecing together alternate clauses, &c.,

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[1] See on xxiii. 3. [2] Judges xii. 11.

and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau his elder son, and said unto him, My son:
2 and he said unto him, Here am I. And he said, Behold

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from two accounts, one found in J and the other in E, i. e. a narrative which may be indicated by the symbol JE.)

1–4. Isaac, being old and blind, asks Esau to get venison, and make savoury meat, that he may give him his last blessing.

5–17. Rebekah overhears, and dresses Jacob up in Esau's clothes, and puts skins on his hands and neck, that he may personate Esau. She sends Jacob to Isaac with savoury meat made from kids' flesh, that he may obtain the blessing.

18–29. Jacob goes in, succeeds in removing his father's doubts, and receives the blessing: he is to inhabit a fertile land, and rule over his brethren.

30–40. As soon as Jacob has gone out Esau comes with *his* savoury meat, and discovers the fraud. In response to his entreaties his father also gives him an ambiguous blessing, which partly sounds like that given to Jacob, but may mean that Esau shall inhabit a sterile land. He shall be a freebooter, and become subject to Jacob, but shall ultimately assert his independence.

Sources, &c. Most scholars are agreed that this section was compiled by combining passages from the Primitive and the Elohistic Documents. Thus Yahweh appears in verses 7, 20, 27, and God in verse 28. It is supposed, too, that the 'savoury meat' belongs to one narrative and the 'venison' to another; the 'goodly raiment' to one and the 'skins of the kids' to another; and in other ways various passages are perhaps better understood as a combination of two parallel accounts than as a single consecutive narrative, e. g. 1 *b* = E 'and said unto him,' &c., and 2 = J; 20 = J, and 21–23 = E. But there is so little agreement as to the exact verses which belong to each document that it has been thought better not to attempt to distinguish them in the text.

Here again, as in the oracle to Rebekah and the sale of the birthright[1], the section is partly national history in the form of a personal narrative. It reflects the suzerainty of Israel[2], the successful revolt of Edom[3], and the mutual enmity[4]. Here again also the Jewish reader would find a legal justification for the preference of the younger brother. Probably the original narratives used by J and E felt no moral difficulty as to the trick played by Jacob and Rebekah, but rather sympathized with it, and enjoyed its cleverness; it was on a level with the patriarchal habit of describing a wife as a sister. But in *Genesis* as we have

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[1] Gen. xxv. 21–34. [2] Verses 29, 40. [3] Verse 40. [4] Verse 41.

now, I am old, I know not the day of my death. Now 3
therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and
thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me venison;
and make me savoury meat, such as I love, and bring it 4
to me, that I may eat; that my soul may bless thee
before I die. And Rebekah heard when Isaac spake to 5
Esau his son. And Esau went to the field to hunt for
venison, and to bring it. And Rebekah spake unto 6
Jacob her son, saying, Behold, I heard thy father speak
unto Esau thy brother, saying, Bring me venison, and 7
make me savoury meat, that I may eat, and bless thee
before the LORD before my death. Now therefore, my 8
son, obey my voice according to that which I command
thee. Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence 9
two good kids of the goats; and I will make them
savoury meat for thy father, such as he loveth: and thou 10
shalt bring it to thy father, that he may eat, so that he
may bless thee before his death. And Jacob said to 11

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it the trick is the source of much distress to its authors, and we have a right to draw obvious moral lessons from the narrative.

This section, again, is not merely history in the form of personal narrative; the numerous graphic details must be drawn from the experience of individuals[1].

2. I know not the day of my death: i. e. I may die at any time.

4. my soul: rather, an emphatic 'I,' 'with my whole heart and soul.'

7. before the LORD. The phrase usually implies that the action takes place at a sanctuary; and it is sometimes supposed that the reference here is to an image of Yahweh. A nomad sheikh, however, might have some private shrine without an image; or the phrase may merely mean 'as a solemn religious act, calling upon Yahweh to witness and confirm the blessing.'

10. may bless thee: instead of Esau. Rebekah may have thought that the promise made to her, xxv. 23, and the sale of the birthright, xxv. 33, gave Jacob a right to the blessing; that Isaac

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[1] For the poems 27–29, 39, 40 see pp. 276 f.

Rebekah his mother, Behold, Esau my brother is a hairy
12 man, and I am a smooth man. My father peradventure
will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver; and
13 I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing. And
his mother said unto him, Upon me be thy curse, my
14 son: only obey my voice, and go fetch me them. And
he went, and fetched, and brought them to his mother:
and his mother made savoury meat, such as his father
15 loved. And Rebekah took the goodly raiment of Esau
her elder son, which were with her in the house, and put
16 them upon Jacob her younger son: and she put the
skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon
17 the smooth of his neck: and she gave the savoury meat
and the bread, which she had prepared, into the hand of
18 her son Jacob. And he came unto his father, and said,
My father: and he said, Here am I; who art thou, my
19 son? And Jacob said unto his father, I am Esau thy
firstborn; I have done according as thou badest me:

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was acting wrongly; and that she was justified in using any means to ensure a righteous end: as if God could not carry out His purposes without the aid of human fraud.

12. My father peradventure will feel me. Jacob shows no moral repugnance, but is afraid of being found out.

13. thy curse: i. e. the curse which thy father may pronounce against thee.

15. goodly raiment: festal attire, or, as we should say, 'Sunday clothes.'

which were with her in the house. So that in the older story Esau was not yet married[1]—a point which the editor overlooked when he inserted the Priestly section, xxvi. 34 f., concerning Esau's wives before this chapter.

18. Here am I: equivalent to our 'Yes,' with which any one answers when addressed.

who art thou. The old man is not only too blind to see which son it is, but does not at once recognize the voice.

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[1] So Holzinger.

arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison, that thy soul may bless me. And Isaac said unto his son, How 20
is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son? And he said, Because the LORD thy God sent me good speed. And Isaac said unto Jacob, Come near, I pray thee, that 21
I may feel thee, my son, whether thou be my very son Esau or not. And Jacob went near unto Isaac his 22
father; and he felt him, and said, The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau. And he 23
discerned him not, because his hands were hairy, as his brother Esau's hands: so he blessed him. And he said, 24
Art thou my very son Esau? And he said, I am. And 25
he said, Bring it near to me, and I will eat of my son's venison, that my soul may bless thee. And he brought it near to him, and he did eat: and he brought him wine, and he drank. And his father Isaac said unto 26

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20. found it so quickly. The tricksters had been obliged to run the risk of exciting suspicion by undue promptness in order to anticipate the return of Esau. The meanness of the trick is perhaps a little mitigated by its audacity; Jacob was bound to be found out and exposed at once; but according to primitive ideas the blessing was irrevocable when once it had been given, no matter how it had been obtained.

the LORD thy God. This may not be merely a blasphemous lie; possibly Jacob persuaded himself that his mother's ingenious device was an inspiration. Worse acts have been done on religious pretexts by professedly religious people.

21. whether thou be my very son. It seems quite possible to take this as the continuation of what precedes. The short conversation has made Isaac aware that 'the voice is Jacob's voice.' But 21–23 are generally regarded as being from another story; in 20, J, Isaac's suspicions are roused by the promptness with which he is supplied with his game; in 21–23, E, it is the voice which makes him think it may be the wrong son.

23. hairy: the hair of the kids' skins.

so he blessed him: out of place, and anticipating verses 26–29.

24. Art thou my very son Esau: the natural sequel to verse 20.

27 him, Come near now, and kiss me, my son. And he
came near, and kissed him: and he smelled the smell of
his raiment, and blessed him, and said,
See, the smell of my son
Is as the smell of a field which the LORD hath blessed:
28 And God give thee of the dew of heaven,
And of the fatness of the earth,
And plenty of corn and wine:
29 Let peoples serve thee,
And nations bow down to thee:
Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee:
Cursed be every one that curseth thee,
And blessed be every one that blesseth thee.
30 And it came to pass, as soon as Isaac had made an end
of blessing Jacob, and Jacob was yet scarce gone out from
the presence of Isaac his father, that Esau his brother
31 came in from his hunting. And he also made savoury
meat, and brought it unto his father; and he said unto
his father, Let my father arise, and eat of his son's
32 venison, that thy soul may bless me. And Isaac his
father said unto him, Who art thou? And he said, I am
33 thy son, thy firstborn, Esau. And Isaac trembled very

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xxvii. 27-29[1]. This poem has nothing to do with the personal history of Jacob, but is wholly concerned with the fortunes of Israel, the nation, at a time when it was in possession of the Promised Land,

'the fatness of the earth,
And plenty of corn and wine,'

and had extended its authority over its neighbours,

'Be lord over thy brethren.'

In other words, the poem reflects the prosperous days of David and Solomon. 'Brethren' stands for kinsfolk, or even neighbours.

28. God: a trace of the Elohistic Document.

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[1] Cf. p. 20.

exceedingly, and said, Who then is he that hath taken venison, and brought it me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him? yea, *and* he shall be blessed. When Esau heard the words of his 34
father, he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father, Bless me, even me also, O my father. And he said, Thy brother came with guile, and 35
hath taken away thy blessing. And he said, Is not he 36
rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birthright; and, behold, now he hath taken away my blessing. And he said, Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me? And Isaac answered 37
and said unto Esau, Behold, I have made him thy lord, and all his brethren have I given to him for servants; and with corn and wine have I sustained him: and what then shall I do for thee, my son? And Esau said unto 38
his father, Hast thou but one blessing, my father? bless me, even me also, O my father. And Esau lifted up his voice, and wept. And Isaac his father answered and 39
said unto him,

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33. yea, and he shall be blessed. The mere utterance of the blessing, even when obtained by false pretences, is final.

36. Jacob. See xxv. 26.

my birthright . . . my blessing. The Hebrew words are similar in form—*bekorathi . . . birkathi*—and suggest a play upon words. They are practically identical in meaning[1], and the blessing was an important element in the birthright, being the rite, as it were, by which the birthright was bestowed. Originally, no doubt, the story of the lentil pottage and this narrative were alternative explanations of the way in which the younger brother obtained the birthright; and our verse is not part of this narrative in its oldest form, but the addition of an editor.

xxvii. 39, 40. This poem[2], also, has nothing to do with the experiences of the individual Esau, but describes the fortunes of the nation, Edom: its territory, its warlike habits, its temporary subjection to Israel, and, finally, its successful assertion of inde-

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[1] So Gunkel. [2] Cf. on 27–29, and p. 20.

Behold, of the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
And of the dew of heaven from above;
40 And by thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother;
And it shall come to pass when thou shalt break loose,
That thou shalt shake his yoke from off thy neck.
41 And Esau hated Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him: and Esau said in his heart, The days of mourning for my father are at hand; then will I
42 slay my brother Jacob. And the words of Esau her elder son were told to Rebekah; and she sent and called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him, Behold, thy brother Esau, as touching thee, doth comfort himself,
43 *purposing* to kill thee. Now therefore, my son, obey my voice; and arise, flee thou to Laban my brother to Haran;
44 and tarry with him a few days, until thy brother's fury turn

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pendence. The last event can hardly be earlier than the time of Jehoshaphat; so that this poem is probably later than verses 27-29.

39. of the R. V. marg. ('away from') **fatness of the earth . . . of the** R. V. marg. ('away from') **dew of heaven.** The Hebrew phrases here are the same as those rendered 'of the dew of heaven . . . of the fatness of the earth' in verse 28. As the alternatives offered by R. V. and R. V. marg. show, the phrases are ambiguous; but we should probably render 'away from' in 39. We do not, however, gather from the accounts of travellers that there can have been any very striking contrast between Israel and Edom in respect of fertility.

40. by thy sword shalt thou live: after the manner of the modern Bedouin, by raiding less warlike peoples, plundering caravans, or levying blackmail to allow them to pass in peace and protect them from other banditti.

thou shalt shake his yoke from off thy neck. Revolts of Edom are mentioned in the reigns of Solomon, apparently unsuccessful, 1 Kings xi. 14-22, Jehoram of Judah, 2 Kings viii. 20-22, and finally Ahaz, 2 Kings xvi. 6, where we should read with R. V. marg. 'the Edomites came to Elath and dwelt there, unto this day.'

44. until thy brother's fury turn away. 45. until thy

away; until thy brother's anger turn away from thee, and 45
he forget that which thou hast done to him: then I will
send, and fetch thee from thence: why should I be
bereaved of you both in one day?

[P] And Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life 46
because of the daughters of Heth: if Jacob take a wife
of the daughters of Heth, such as these, of the daughters
of the land, what good shall my life do me? And Isaac 28
called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, and
said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daugh-
ters of Canaan. Arise, go to Paddan-aram, to the house 2
of Bethuel thy mother's father; and take thee a wife
from thence of the daughters of Laban thy mother's

brother's anger turn away. This repetition suggests that, of these two clauses, one is taken from one source, and the other from another.

45. be bereaved of you both. This is commonly explained as meaning that if Esau killed Jacob, Rebekah would lose both her two sons on the same day, because Esau would be slain by Jacob's kinsfolk, who would avenge him after the manner of the Bedouin. It seems, however, also possible that 'both' stands for Isaac and Jacob. Esau proposed to kill Jacob as soon as the days of mourning began, verse 41, not waiting till they were ended. As soon as the breath was out of Isaac's body Esau would kill Jacob, and father and son would both die on one day. The story does not show that Rebekah felt any special affection for Esau.

xxvii. 46. Rebekah on the Marriage of Jacob.

A fragment of a Priestly account of Jacob's visit to Haran, which rejects the discreditable reasons given in the rest of this chapter in favour of a more satisfactory explanation of his journey thither. Cf. on xxvi. 34.

xxviii. 1–9. Jacob sent to Paddan-aram to marry a kinswoman. Esau takes another wife, an Ishmaelite (P[1]).

2. Paddan-aram. See on xxv. 20.

Bethuel thy mother's father . . . Laban thy mother's brother. According to the Priestly Document, see on xxv. 20, there was no close relationship between Bethuel and Isaac.

[1] Cf. on xxvii. 46.

3 brother. And God Almighty bless thee, and make thee
fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a
4 company of peoples; and give thee the blessing of
Abraham, to thee, and to thy seed with thee; that thou
mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings, which God
5 gave unto Abraham. And Isaac sent away Jacob: and
he went to Paddan-aram unto Laban, son of Bethuel the
Syrian, the brother of Rebekah, Jacob's and Esau's
6 mother. Now Esau saw that Isaac had blessed Jacob
and sent him away to Paddan-aram, to take him a wife
from thence; and that as he blessed him he gave him
a charge, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife of the
7 daughters of Canaan; and that Jacob obeyed his father
8 and his mother, and was gone to Paddan-aram: and
Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan pleased not Isaac
9 his father; and Esau went unto Ishmael, and took unto
the wives which he had Mahalath the daughter of
Ishmael Abraham's son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be
his wife.

10 [JE] And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went

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3. God Almighty: Heb. *El Shaddai.* See on xvii. 1.

bless thee. Here the blessing is given in a natural, straightforward, legitimate way, in terms similar to the previous blessings on Abraham and Isaac.

9. Mahalath. Cf. on xxvi. 34 and xxxvi. 3. In 2 Chron. xi. 18 Rehoboam marries a Mahalath, the daughter of David's son Jerimoth. The name does not occur elsewhere.

Nebaioth. See on xxv. 13.

xxviii. 10-22. JACOB AT BETH-EL (JE).

xxviii. 10. Jacob leaves Beer-sheba for Haran.

xxviii. 11-15. Resting for the night he dreams of a ladder from earth to heaven, with angels going up and down it. Yahweh appears and blesses him.

xxviii. 16-22. He awakes, and consecrates the stone he had

toward Haran. And he lighted upon a certain place, and 11
tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he
took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his
head, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he 12
dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and
the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels
of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, 13

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used for a pillow as a sacred pillar; he calls the place Beth-el, 'House of God'; and promises that if Yahweh will bring him safe home again he will pay tithes.

Sources, &c. Here, as in xxvii. 1–45, there are traces of both the Elohistic and Primitive Documents, e. g. 'God' in verses 12, 20, Yahweh in verses 13, 16, 21; but the exact division between the two cannot be certainly determined, and it has been thought best not to indicate it in the text.

No doubt this narrative was preserved at the great Israelite sanctuary of Beth-el, for whose priests the most important lesson of the chapter was their right to receive tithes from Jacob's descendants. The patriarch's example was recorded as a precedent binding on the nation that traced its descent to him. But for us the story has deeper spiritual lessons, that have appealed throughout the ages to men's hearts and consciences. The picture of the vision of God and heaven coming to the lonely wanderer in his dreams has constantly suggested the nearness and the reality of the Divine Presence.

The reader may notice that neither in the words of Jacob nor in the Divine utterance is there any reference to the fact that Jacob's flight was due to the gross deceit he had recently practised. Perhaps this story of Jacob's dream was originally independent of the preceding narratives.

11. a certain place: Heb. 'the place,' perhaps 'the sanctuary,' cf. xii. 6.

one of the stones of the place: perhaps the 'place' is thought of a circle of sacred stones, one of which Jacob takes for his pillow. It is implied that the patriarch did not know that the place on which he had 'lighted' was holy; this is revealed to him by the vision, verse 17.

12. a ladder. It has been supposed that the dream was suggested by the appearance of the hill of Beth-el, which is something like a huge flight of steps. The holy place affords an opportunity of communication between earth and heaven; it is the 'gate of heaven,' verse 17.

13. Cf. xii. 7, xv. 7.

the LORD stood above it, and said, I am the LORD, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy
14 seed; and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.
15 And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee, until I have done that
16 which I have spoken to thee of. And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place;
17 and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house
18 of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured

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above it: R. V. marg. 'beside him.'

14. Cf. xiii. 14–17, xii. 3.

spread abroad: R. V. marg. 'break forth.'

16. the LORD is in this place.

17. this is none other but the house of God. These two equivalent clauses are recognitions that the place was a sanctuary; the former comes from J, 'Yahweh,' the latter from E, 'God.'

18. set it up for a pillar. The pillar (*maṣṣeba*) or sacred stone was part of the apparatus of a sanctuary in early times both in Israel and elsewhere, and was a relic of an earlier time when the stone itself was the sanctuary, or even the object of worship, the abode of the deity. The worship of sacred stones was a common feature in many primitive religions. Even here it is on the stone that Jacob pours out his libation of oil, verse 18; and it is the stone which is to be God's house (verse 20). According to early tradition two sacred stones were preserved in the Ark. At Mecca, in the central sanctuary of Islam, the most venerable object is a sacred black stone.

Until towards the close of the Jewish monarchy these sacred *maṣṣebas* were regarded as perfectly legitimate; thus Moses erects an altar and twelve *maṣṣebas* at Sinai, Exod. xxiv. 4, E; and Joshua sets up 'a great stone' in the sanctuary of Yahweh at

oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that 19
place Beth-el: but the name of the city was Luz at the
first. And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be 20
with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will
give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that 21
I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall
the LORD be my God, and this stone, which I have 22
set up for a pillar, shall be God's house: and of all

Shechem, and says of it, 'This stone shall be a witness against us; for it hath heard all the words of Yahweh which he spake unto us,' Joshua xxiv. 27, E.

19. Beth-el (i. e. 'the house of God') . . . **Luz.** See on xii. 8, and cf. xxxv. 9–15.

20. If God will be with me: i. e. if God will keep the promise made in the vision, verses 13–15.

21. so that I come again to my father's house in peace. It is implied that this condition was fulfilled; hence, if we are to treat this section as continuous with xxvii. 1–45 we must take 'father's house' in a loose sense for Canaan. We should gather from xxvii. 41 that Isaac died long before Jacob returned. In xxxiii. 18 we read that 'Jacob came in peace[1] to the city of Shechem'; but perhaps we have here another indication that this story was not originally the continuation of that concerning the blessing obtained by fraud.

The statements that Jacob left Paddan-aram to go to Isaac, xxxi. 18, and that he came to Isaac at Mamre, xxxv. 27, belong to the Priestly Document.

then shall the LORD be my God: sometimes regarded as a later addition, but it is simpler to render with R.V. marg. 'and [if] Yahweh will be my God, then this stone.'

22. this stone . . . shall be God's house: sometimes explained as meaning that Jacob would build a temple there—in xxxv. 7, E, he builds an altar at Beth-el—or that the stone should be the foundation of the temple. But no doubt in the original it meant that the stone was the seat of a supernatural presence or influence, and would be reverenced as such. At the same time it is certain that the actual compilers of the Pentateuch held no such belief, and probably they did not so understand the words, but read and copied them as a loose and figurative expression, to be interpreted as has been suggested at the beginning of this note.

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[1] But R.V. marg. 'to Shalem' for 'in peace.'

that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee.

29 [E] Then Jacob went on his journey, and came to the

I will surely give the tenth unto thee. There is a childlike simplicity about the wording of this vow, read as part of the personal history of Jacob; to give back to God a tenth of what God gave him would have been an excellent bargain for the patriarch. But the verses are really written from the point of view of the priests of the sanctuary at Beth-el; and mean that the pious Israelite ought to devote a tenth of his income to the maintenance of that sanctuary and its priesthood. Perhaps the priests thought of Jacob as devoting a tenth of his property to building the original sanctuary, and providing it with lands which would serve as an endowment. We do not read of Jacob fulfilling this part of his vow. Cf. xiv. 20.

xxix, xxx. JACOB'S SOJOURN AT HARAN. (Compiled from J, E, and P.)

xxix. 1. (E) Jacob journeys to the land of the Children of the East.

xxix. 2–14. (J) Jacob reaches Haran, meets Rachel at the well, and is hospitably received by Laban.

xxix. 15–23. (JE) Jacob serves Laban seven years for Rachel, but is given Leah instead.

xxix. 24. (P) Laban gives Zilpah to Leah.

xxix. 25–28 *a*[1]. (JE) Laban proposes that Jacob shall serve another seven years for Rachel.

xxix. 28 *b*, 29. (P) Laban gives Rachel to Jacob, and Bilhah to Rachel.

xxix. 30. (JE) Jacob serves another seven years for Rachel.

xxix. 31–35. (J) Leah bears Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah

xxx. 1–3. (JE) Rachel gives her maid Bilhah to Jacob.

xxx. 4 *a*[2]. (P) Rachel gives her maid Bilhah to Jacob.

xxx. 4 *b*[3]–8. (JE) Bilhah bears Dan and Naphtali.

xxx. 9–13. (JE) Leah gives Zilpah to Jacob; Zilpah bears Gad and Asher.

xxx. 14–20. (JE) Reuben finds mandrakes, Leah purchases with them Jacob's society, and bears Issachar and Zebulun.

xxx. 21, 22 *a*[4]. (P) Leah bears Dinah. God remembers Rachel.

[1] As far as 'her week.'
[2] As far as 'to wife.'
[3] From 'and Jacob.'
[4] As far as 'Rachel.'

land of the children of the east. [J] And he looked, and 2
behold a well in the field, and, lo, three flocks of sheep

xxx. 22*b*[1]–24. (JE) Rachel bears Joseph.

xxx. 25–43. (JE) Jacob wishes to return to Canaan, but agrees to continue to serve Laban for a portion of the increase of the flock. By various devices Jacob arranges that his share of this increase shall be the more valuable.

Sources, &c. This section shows the usual signs of compilation from different documents. e. g. Yahweh in xxix. 31–35, &c., God in xxx. 17–23. Certain clauses are commonly ascribed to the Priestly Document, but 'The decomposition of the combined stories of J and E is sometimes matter of the utmost difficulty, as the texture is often extremely closely knit, even where it is practically certain that two sources have been united . . . the justification of [any particular analysis] sometimes depends on considerations which must be differently estimated by different students[2].' Hence in this section, for the most part, only the combined story is given.

The reader will notice the similarity between the story of Jacob and Rachel at the well, xxix. 1–14, and the stories of Eliezer and Rebekah, xxiv. 1–32, and Moses and the daughters of Jethro, Exod. ii. 15–21.

In these chapters, as in the poems in xxvii, we are reading not of individuals but of tribes. It is, of course, possible that there were individuals, Jacob, Rachel, Joseph, &c. after whom tribes were named, just as towns, territories, states, and religious denominations have been named after individuals, e. g. Constantinople after Constantine, the state and the territory of Washington in the United States, Bolivia after Bolivar, Christians after Christ. None of these, however, are very exact parallels. Again, portions of the narratives are not tribal history, but accounts of personal experiences which may very well have happened to individuals, Jacob, &c. But most of the names of the twelve patriarchs only occur in history as names of tribes, and it is commonly held that they were originally names of tribes, and that the twelve patriarchs, for the most part at any rate, are eponymous ancestors[3].

Thus then this section, like ch. x, is mostly held to be tribal history, describing the relations of tribes, blended no doubt with familiar personal experiences. But after the lapse of millenniums history, written after this fashion, becomes an enigma which is very difficult to solve. The following exposition therefore must simply be regarded as a specimen of several possible alternative

[1] From 'and God.' [2] Oxford Hexateuch.
[3] See notes on the several names.

lying there by it; for out of that well they watered the flocks: and the stone upon the well's mouth was great.
3 And thither were all the flocks gathered: and they rolled the stone from the well's mouth, and watered the sheep,

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interpretations; an example of the *kind* of information which these chapters were intended to give.

The meaning of the section, therefore, is sometimes supposed to have been somewhat as follows: Jacob is an Arab tribe wandering in Canaan; through a quarrel with Edom, Jacob migrated to the neighbourhood of Haran, and formed a federation with the Aramaean clans of Rachel, Bilhah, Leah, and Zilpah. The fusion of Rachel and Jacob was so close as to constitute a new tribe Joseph[1], the name Jacob being transferred to the federation. The other federated clans in time became divided up into new clans, or in some instances fresh clans joined the federation, and were reckoned as sub-clans of one of the four main groups. Thus, to use the genealogical language, Leah had six sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, i. e. the great subdivision of the alliance known as Leah came to comprise these clans; and so Zilpah had two sons, Gad and Asher; Bilhah had two sons, Dan and Naphtali. The term 'concubine' applied to Bilhah and Zilpah implies that these tribes and their subdivisions were at first less influential members of the federation, or perhaps only loosely connected with it. The history dealt with in these chapters refers partly to the period before the conquest of Canaan and partly to the conquest itself, and the subsequent settlement in the Promised Land. If, however, Bilhah is a form of the name of the Horite clan Bilhan, the tribe was originally Horite, or perhaps partly Horite and partly Edomite, and became absorbed in Israel. Cf. xxxvi. 5, 27.

But whatever tribal history may be involved in these chapters is now set in the framework of a personal story. Probably long before the Pentateuch was completed the Jews read it as such; and we may follow their example, and enjoy the graphic narrative, profit by its teaching, and learn something of the manners and ideas of ancient Israel. Cf. also note on the twelve tribes on xxxv. 22–26.

1. went on his journey: i. e. 'continued his journey,' Heb. 'lifted up his feet.'

the land of the children of the east: i.e. the land east and north-east of Palestine. In P, Jacob's destination is Paddan-aram, xxviii. 5, in J, Haran, xxviii. 10.

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[1] See note on Joseph.

and put the stone again upon the well's mouth in its
place. And Jacob said unto them, My brethren, whence 4
be ye? And they said, Of Haran are we. And he said 5
unto them, Know ye Laban the son of Nahor? And they
said, We know him. And he said unto them, Is it well 6
with him? And they said, It is well: and, behold,
Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep. And he 7
said, Lo, it is yet high day, neither is it time that the
cattle should be gathered together: water ye the sheep,
and go and feed them. And they said, We cannot, until 8
all the flocks be gathered together, and they roll the stone
from the well's mouth; then we water the sheep. While 9
he yet spake with them, Rachel came with her father's
sheep; for she kept them. And it came to pass, when 10
Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's
brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother,
that Jacob went near, and rolled the stone from the
well's mouth, and watered the flock of Laban his mother's
brother. And Jacob kissed Rachel, and lifted up his 11
voice, and wept. And Jacob told Rachel that he was 12
her father's brother, and that he was Rebekah's son: and
she ran and told her father. And it came to pass, when 13
Laban heard the tidings of Jacob his sister's son, that he
ran to meet him, and embraced him, and kissed him,
and brought him to his house. And he told Laban all

5. Laban the son of Nahor. According to the genealogies Laban was the grandson of Nahor; 'son' here = descendant.

6. Rachel = 'ewe.' It has been suggested that an ewe was originally the totem of the Rachel tribe. Rachel was perhaps the name of an Aramaean tribe which became absorbed in Israel; the story of course thinks of an individual, cf. above.

7. go and feed them: so that Jacob might have a private interview with Rachel.

11. lifted up his voice, and wept: i. e. 'cried aloud,' after the demonstrative fashion of the Oriental.

13. ran to meet him. Cf. xxiv. 29.

14 these things. [JE] And Laban said to him, Surely thou
art my bone and my flesh. And he abode with him the
15 space of a month. And Laban said unto Jacob, Because
thou art my brother, shouldest thou therefore serve me
16 for nought? tell me, what shall thy wages be? And La-
ban had two daughters: the name of the elder was Leah,
17 and the name of the younger was Rachel. And Leah's
eyes were tender; but Rachel was beautiful and well
18 favoured. And Jacob loved Rachel; and he said, I will
serve thee seven years for Rachel thy younger daughter.
19 And Laban said, It is better that I give her to thee, than
that I should give her to another man: abide with me.
20 And Jacob served seven years for Rachel; and they
seemed unto him but a few days, for the love he had to
21 her. And Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my wife, for
22 my days are fulfilled, that I may go in unto her. And
Laban gathered together all the men of the place, and
23 made a feast. And it came to pass in the evening, that
he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him; and
24 he went in unto her. [P] And Laban gave Zilpah his
handmaid unto his daughter Leah for an handmaid.
25 [JE] And it came to pass in the morning that, behold, it

16. Leah: sometimes explained as meaning 'wild-cow,' which animal is then regarded as the totem of the Leah tribe; others connect Leah with a similar Assyrian word meaning 'lady'; cf. above, p. 287.

17. tender: i. e. weak, 'without brightness or brilliancy of lustre[1].'

18. seven years for Rachel: as the equivalent of the *mohar* or price paid for a wife.

23. he took Leah . . . and brought her to him. The bride would be veiled, it was dark, and it was the evening of a great feast, so that Jacob did not find out the deception till the morning.

24. (P) **Zilpah.** Origin and meaning of name unknown, cf. above, p. 287.

[1] Dillmann.

was Leah: and he said to Laban, What is this thou hast done unto me? did not I serve with thee for Rachel? wherefore then hast thou beguiled me? And Laban said, 26
It is not so done in our place, to give the younger before the firstborn. Fulfil the week of this one, and we will 27
give thee the other also for the service which thou shalt serve with me yet seven other years. And Jacob did so, 28
and fulfilled her week: [P] and he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife. And Laban gave to Rachel his 29
daughter Bilhah his handmaid to be her handmaid.
[JE] And he went in also unto Rachel, and he loved 30
also Rachel more than Leah, and served with him yet seven other years.

[J] And the LORD saw that Leah was hated, and he 31
opened her womb: but Rachel was barren. And Leah 32
conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben: for she said, Because the LORD hath looked

26. Mention is made of a similar custom in India and elsewhere.

27. Fulfil the week, &c. At the end of a week specially devoted to Leah, Jacob married Rachel, and paid for her by seven more years' work for Laban.

29. (P) **Bilhah.** Meaning and origin of name unknown, cf. above, p. 285.

32. Reuben. The Primitive Document explains this name as meaning **hath looked upon my affliction,** *ra'ah be'onyi*, an impossible etymology. Perhaps in the second half of the verse, **my husband will love me,** we have a corruption of the Elohistic etymology; 'will love me' = *ye'ehabani*. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I. xix. 7, states that the word meant, 'It had happened to her according to the compassion of God,' i. e. *El*. The spelling and vowels of the Hebrew text suggest the meaning *re'u ben*, 'behold a son.' But Josephus, the Syriac, and some other versions give the name as *Roubelos* or *Rubil*. The origin of the name in either form is unknown, and the number of theories is in proportion to the lack of information. The *Reubel* form has been explained as 'seen or cared for by Bel,' and again as equivalent to the Arabic *ri'bal*, wolf.

Reuben as the firstborn must have been an important tribe in

upon my affliction; for now my husband will love me.
33 And she conceived again, and bare a son; and said,
Because the LORD hath heard that I am hated, he hath
therefore given me this *son* also: and she called his name
34 Simeon. And she conceived again, and bare a son; and
said, Now this time will my husband be joined unto me,
because I have borne him three sons: therefore was his
35 name called Levi. And she conceived again, and bare

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early times; Num. xvi, JE, may be a reminiscence of an attempt of Reuben as premier tribe to assert its claims against Moses. At the Conquest Reuben is located between the Jabbok and the Arnon, in the midst of the territory of Gad; and is found there in the time of Deborah, Judges v. 15, 16. After this the tribe seems to have suffered some great disaster, and practically disappears from history. Cf. on xxx. 14, xxxv. 22, xlix. 3 f[1].

33. Simeon. The name *Shim'on* suggested the Hebrew verb *shama'*, 'heard,' hence the etymology, **because the LORD hath heard.** There is no very probable explanation of the name, it is sometimes connected with the Arabic *sam'*, a hybrid between a hyaena and a wolf, a view which receives some support from the possibility that Reuben should be read as Reubel and interpreted as 'Wolf.' The position of the tribe in the genealogy shows that it was important in early times, and this would be illustrated by references in Egyptian and cuneiform authorities, if we could be sure that the names cited were equivalent to Simeon. The cities of Simeon were in the territory of Judah, as those of Reuben were in the territory of Gad; and Simeon too suffered some reverse soon after the Conquest, after which it practically disappeared from history, cf. on xxxiv, xlix. 5–7.

34. Levi. The name suggested the Hebrew verb *lavah*, 'joined,' hence the etymology, **Now . . . will my husband be joined unto me.** Levi, however, is strictly the term for a member of a tribe, 'Levite'; or, if taken collectively, for the members, 'Levites.' It is commonly regarded as the adjective corresponding to Leah, so that Levi would mean 'a member of the Leah tribe.' If so we may suppose that the Leah tribe became several tribes, partly by subdivision, partly by the incorporation of new members; and that a section of the original tribe simply retained the old name in its gentilic or adjectival form, and called themselves *par excellence*

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[1] See the Author's articles on Reuben in Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

a son: and she said, This time will I praise the LORD: therefore she called his name Judah; and she left bearing.

[JE] And when Rachel saw that she bare Jacob no 30
children, Rachel envied her sister; and she said unto
Jacob, Give me children, or else I die. And Jacob's 2
anger was kindled against Rachel: and he said, Am I in
God's stead, who hath withheld from thee the fruit of the
womb? And she said, Behold my maid Bilhah, go in 3
unto her; that she may bear upon my knees, and I also
may obtain children by her. [P] And she gave him 4
Bilhah her handmaid to wife: [JE] and Jacob went in
unto her. And Bilhah conceived, and bare Jacob a son. 5
And Rachel said, God hath judged me, and hath also 6

'the Levites.' There are parallel cases where two forms of a proper name come to have different meanings, for instance, 'Frank' is only a corruption of 'French,' but Frank in the East stands for Europeans generally, of whom the French are only one section. If so the Levites originally were the most powerful and distinguished of the Leah tribes, but they also suffered a great disaster in early times, and Levite later on means first a priest, and then an assistant to the priests. It is not certain what is the historical connexion, if any, between the secular tribe Levi and the sacerdotal Levites, cf. xxxiv, xlix. 5–7.

35. Judah. The Hebrew name *Yehudah* suggested the verb *hodah*, 'praised,' hence the etymology, **I will praise the LORD.** The real origin of the name and the early history of the tribe is uncertain. It is not referred to in the Song of Deborah; but appears elsewhere in *Judges*[1] in the south of Palestine. Cf. on xxxviii.

xxx. 3. bear upon my knees, a symbolic act by which Rachel adopts Bilhah's children as her own so that she may obtain children by her, Heb. 'be builded by her'; so in l. 23 Joseph's great-grandchildren, the children of Manasseh's son Machir, 'were born upon Joseph's knees,' a special recognition of their legitimacy[2]. It is suggested that children were born upon the knees of the father in recognition of legitimacy, cf. Job iii. 12, 'Why did the knees receive me?[3]'

[1] i, x. 9, xv–xxi. [2] Cf. note on this verse.
[3] Stade ap. Holzinger.

heard my voice, and hath given me a son: therefore
7 called she his name Dan. And Bilhah Rachel's hand-
maid conceived again, and bare Jacob a second son.
8 And Rachel said, With mighty wrestlings have I wrestled
with my sister, and have prevailed: and she called his
9 name Naphtali. When Leah saw that she had left
bearing, she took Zilpah her handmaid, and gave her to
10 Jacob to wife. And Zilpah Leah's handmaid bare Jacob
11 a son. And Leah said, Fortunate! and she called his
12 name Gad. And Zilpah Leah's handmaid bare Jacob a
13 second son. And Leah said, Happy am I! for the

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6. Dan, a name which might be read as a Hebrew verb, 'he judged,' hence the etymology, **God hath judged me.** Dan is often supposed to have been originally the name of a deity, a view also held with regard to Gad and Asher. The connexion of Dan and Naphtali, through Bilhah, with Rachel, groups Dan with Joseph. The tribe is found partly to the west of Ephraim, and partly in the extreme north. Cf. on *Dinah*, xxx. 21.

8. Naphtali. The name suggested the Hebrew verb *niphtal*, 'he wrestled,' hence the etymology, **with mighty wrestlings** (Heb. 'wrestlings of God') **have I wrestled.** The origin of the name is unknown. Naphtali is prominent in the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 18. Cf. above on Dan. See also Ps. lxviii. 27.

11. Gad, R.V. marg. '*that is*, Fortune,' hence the etymology, **Leah said, Fortunate!** R.V. marg. 'With Fortune.' But Gad occurs in Isa. lxv. 11 as the name of a deity, also in the names Baal-gad[1], and Migdal-gad[2]. Gad was a well-known Syrian deity, the god of fortune. The margin of the Hebrew text gives the alternative reading, 'Gad comes.' The statement that Gad and Asher were sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, implies an early connexion of the two tribes with each other, and also a connexion between them and the Leah tribes. Since Gad and Asher were widely separated in the final settlement of the twelve tribes in Canaan, this connexion and the tradition concerning it must date back to the early days of the Conquest, or perhaps even to the nomad life of the tribes before the Conquest. Gad settled east of Jordan, and was for some time a powerful tribe. The Gadites are mentioned in the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, the contemporary of Ahab, where nothing is said of Reuben.

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[1] Joshua xi. 17. [2] Joshua xv. 37.

daughters will call me happy: and she called his name Asher. And Reuben went in the days of wheat harvest, 14 and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said to Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes. And she 15 said unto her, Is it a small matter that thou hast taken

13. Asher. The name suggested the Hebrew verb 'to call happy'; hence the etymology, **Happy am I! for the daughters will call me happy.** The Hebrew for 'Happy am I!' is more literally 'With my happiness,' which resembles both in sense and construction the exclamation as to Asher's brother Gad. Asher has been supposed to be 'a god of good fortune' like Gad; and the similarity of name might suggest a connexion with the Assyrian god Asshur; but any such connexion is improbable. A name *Aseru*, which may be equivalent to Asher, is found in Western Galilee in Egyptian inscriptions of the time of Rameses II and earlier. In many popular handbooks Rameses II is given as the Pharaoh of the Oppression. If *Aseru* is Asher either Rameses II is *not* the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and the Oppression and the Exodus must be placed much earlier; or Asher was the ancient name of a district in Canaan, and after the Conquest this ancient local name was adopted by an Israelite tribe; or the tribe of Asher was not involved in the Oppression and the Exodus, but was permanently settled in Canaan at an earlier date. Asher is mentioned in the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 17, but plays no part, as a separate tribe, in the later history. Cf. the previous note on Gad.

14. Reuben . . . found mandrakes, R. V. marg. 'loveapples.' The mandrake or loveapple had a yellow fruit, about the size and shape of a plum, and was supposed to promote conception. Mandrakes have always been credited with magic properties. Probably in the original form of the story Rachel conceived through the help of the mandrakes; but this seemed to the more enlightened editors of later days a piece of heathen superstition. Hence it was omitted, and there is no sequel to Rachel's acquisition of the mandrakes, as far as she is concerned. We read instead in verse 22 the more seemly statement of the Elohist, 'God opened her womb.' Reuben probably appears in this incident because he was the eldest son; but it is noteworthy that the original for mandrakes is *duda'im*, and from the Mesha inscription[1] we learn that the Gadites worshipped a deity *Dudah*; and the Reubenite cities lay in the midst of the territory of Gad.

[1] See above, the note on 'Gad.'

away my husband? and wouldest thou take away my
son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, Therefore he
16 shall lie with thee to-night for thy son's mandrakes. And
Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went
out to meet him, and said, Thou must come in unto me;
for I have surely hired thee with my son's mandrakes.
17 And he lay with her that night. And God hearkened
unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a fifth
18 son. And Leah said, God hath given me my hire,
because I gave my handmaid to my husband: and she
19 called his name Issachar. And Leah conceived again,
20 and bare a sixth son to Jacob. And Leah said, God
hath endowed me with a good dowry; now will my
husband dwell with me, because I have borne him six
21 sons: and she called his name Zebulun. [P] And

18. Issachar. The name suggested the Hebrew word *sachar*, 'hire.' Hence the etymology, **God hath given me my hire.** The name to a Hebrew reader might seem to mean 'Man of hire,' or 'There is hire.' The actual meaning and origin of the name are quite uncertain. The statement that Issachar and Zebulun were brothers corresponds to the fact that their territories were conterminous. As 'sons' of Leah they were understood to be connected in ancient times with the other Leah tribes. Issachar and Zebulun took a leading part in the defeat of Sisera[1]; these two do not afterwards appear in history as separate tribes[2].

19. Zebulun. In this verse the editor has set side by side two explanations of the name, doubtless one from each of his two sources J and E. The first, which uses the Divine name, 'God,' will be from E. 'God hath-endowed-me' (ZBDNy) 'with a good dowry' (ZBD). The 'dowry' will be her six sons. The root ZBD is an element in many Hebrew names *Zabad*, *Zabud*, *Zebudah*, *Zabdi*, &c. This explanation suggests that in E the name was Zebu*d*un. The other explanation, which doubtless comes from J, is 'now will my husband dwell with me'; 'will . . . dwell with me' translates *yZBLNy*, from the root ZBL, sometimes, as in E.V. here, taken to mean 'dwell,' but more often rendered 'honour.' This root is probably found in Baalzebul, God of Ekron[3], of which

[1] See the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 14–18.
[2] Cf. however Ps. lxviii. 27.
[3] 2 Kings i.

afterwards she bare a daughter, and called her name Dinah. And God remembered Rachel, [JE] and God 22
hearkened to her, and opened her womb. And she con- 23
ceived, and bare a son: and said, God hath taken away
my reproach: and she called his name Joseph, saying, 24
The LORD add to me another son.

Baalzebub and Beelzebub are corruptions. If so Baal-zebul would mean 'Lord of the High House' or 'Temple,' a title which might very well be borne by other deities beside the God of Ekron, and possibly Zebulun may be connected with some such divine name. Zebulun, in this case, would originally be the name of the district, and would only be assumed by the tribe after its settlement in Canaan. Note that Zebulun is the latest born of the 'sons' of Leah, i. e. possibly the last member added to the confederation of Leah tribes. Cf. on Issachar.

21. We have followed some recent critics in giving this verse to P, but there is considerable difference of opinion on this head, others assign it to J and E. Even if it comes in its present form from P it doubtless rests on some older source. In P the father usually gives the name. But this verse, in which the child is a daughter and the name is left without any explanation, hardly belongs to the same sources as those from which the births of the sons are taken. It may be an editorial addition suggested by xxxiv (which see).

Dinah: doubtless an ancient tribe of Israel, which disappeared early in the history; the similarity of *Dan* and *Dinah* suggests some connexion between the two. As Dan is a son of Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, and Dinah is a daughter of Leah, it is possible that the tribe divided itself into two sections in early times, one of which associated itself with Bilhah and the other with the Leah, especially with Simeon and Levi, as we gather from xxxiv (which see). Cf. on *Dan*, xxx. 6.

22. Cf. on verse 14.

23. hath taken away my reproach: i. e. the reproach of being a childless woman, far greater in the ancient East than it is with us. Cf. the account in 1 Sam. i. 6 of Peninnah's insolent nagging of her childless co-wife Hannah: 'Her rival,' Peninnah, 'provoked her,' Hannah, 'sore, for to make her fret, because Yahweh had shut up her womb.'

24. Joseph. Here again the editor has set side by side two explanations of the name, one in the previous verse, from E, with the Divine name 'God,' **God hath-taken-away** ('aSaPh) **my reproach**; a second in this verse, from J, with the Divine name Yahweh, **Yahweh add** (YoSePh) **to me another son.** Forms

25 And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph,
that Jacob said unto Laban, Send me away, that I may
26 go unto mine own place, and to my country. Give me
my wives and my children for whom I have served thee,
and let me go: for thou knowest my service wherewith
27 I have served thee. And Laban said unto him, If now
I have found favour in thine eyes, *tarry*: *for* I have
divined that the LORD hath blessed me for thy sake.
28 And he said, Appoint me thy wages, and I will give it.
29 And he said unto him, Thou knowest how I have served
30 thee, and how thy cattle hath fared with me. For it was
little which thou hadst before I came, and it hath in-
creased unto a multitude; and the LORD hath blessed

which have been read as *Joseph-el* have been found (*a*) as the name of a place in Palestine in an Egyptian inscription of Thothmes III (about sixteenth century B. C.), and (*b*) as the name of a person in cuneiform inscriptions. Hence Joseph may be a contraction of *Joseph-el*, perhaps = 'El (God) will add.' Cf. on Jacob, xxv. 26.

Joseph seems at one time to have been the name of the group of Northern Tribes, or even of the whole people. If so it ranks with Jacob and Israel rather than with the rest of the Twelve Patriarchs[1]. At the same time the stories told later on of Joseph cannot merely relate to the tribe, but must, in part at any rate, refer to an individual.

25. when Rachel had borne Joseph. The narrative implies that Jacob had now completed the seven years he had promised to serve for Rachel. According to the previous narrative Leah had in the interval borne seven[2] children, and had had an interval of barrenness, xxix. 35, xxx. 9, 16.

27. divined: ascertained by magic divination, like Joseph xliv. 5, 15.

hath blessed me for thy sake. It is implied that Laban's flocks and herds had multiplied with exceptional rapidity under Jacob's care, so verse 29 f.; this has not been stated before as the story now stands, but perhaps some reference to it has been omitted by an editor.

30. increased, Heb. 'broken forth.'

[1] Cf. above, p. 285, and see also on chapter xxxvii ff.

[2] Verses 20, 21, or possibly six, see note on verse 21.

thee whithersoever I turned: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also? And he said, What 31
shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me aught: if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed thy flock and keep it. I will pass through all thy 32
flock to-day, removing from thence every speckled and spotted one, and every black one among the sheep, and

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whithersoever I turned: Heb. 'at my foot,' in opposition to 'before I came,' so we might render 'as a consequence of my coming[1]'.

31. if thou wilt do this thing for me. In this bargaining we have the second stage of the attempts of Jacob and Laban to outwit one another. In the first bout, in the matter of Rachel and Leah, Laban had won, now it is Jacob's turn. As Laban stands for the Syrians, we have here a parallel to the long struggle between Israel and the Syrians of Damascus in the days of the Divided Monarchy.

32. speckled and spotted . . . and black . . . sheep . . . spotted and speckled . . . goats. Verses 31–43 are very difficult as they stand. In verse 31 Jacob says, 'Thou shalt not give me aught,' but in verse 32 he proposes to remove the spotted and speckled from Laban's flock and transfer them, as it seems, to his own; so, apparently, also in verse 35. But, again, in verse 40 'the ringstraked and the black' are still in Laban's flocks. Again, the description of Jacob's share differs in verses 32 f. and 35; and in xxxi. 7 f. there are said to have been *ten* different bargains, one of which gave the speckled and another the ringstraked to Jacob. In fact the story as it now stands is in hopeless confusion as to its details; partly, of course, because it has been made up from two or more sources; partly, no doubt, through editorial omissions, additions, and other alterations; and partly, probably, through mistakes in copying.

There seem to have been two versions of the bargain, one gave Jacob the animals that were speckled, &c., *and* their offspring; the other simply gave him the offspring that were speckled, &c. It is not possible now to disentangle the two accounts with any certainty; but the main idea is clear. The speckled and spotted animals and the black sheep are the less common, of which there would be few, and in asking for them Jacob seems to be asking for a trifling reward, which, however, he converts into a very large one, by his own craftiness according to verses 37–43, by

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[1] Cf. Ball's *Genesis* in *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*.

the spotted and speckled among the goats: and *of such*
33 shall be my hire. So shall my righteousness answer for
me hereafter, when thou shalt come concerning my hire
that is before thee: every one that is not speckled and
spotted among the goats, and black among the sheep,
34 that *if found* with me shall be counted stolen. And
Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to
35 thy word. And he removed that day the he-goats that
were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats that
were speckled and spotted, every one that had white in
it, and all the black ones among the sheep, and gave
36 them into the hand of his sons; and he set three days'
journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the
37 rest of Laban's flocks. And Jacob took him rods of
fresh poplar, and of the almond and of the plane tree;

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the blessing of God according to xxxi. 7-11. Probably Jacob would not have seen any inconsistency between the two statements.

33. So shall my righteousness answer for me, &c. The wording of the English faithfully reproduces the obscurity of the original. The general sense, however, is obvious. According to this arrangement Jacob's innocence or guilt would be manifest. He was to have the animals coloured in one way, Laban those coloured in another; if Jacob had any of the wrong colour it would be plain that he had broken the agreement. The frank expression of the mutual suspicion of the brothers-in-law is very striking.

34. I would it might be, &c. A courteous assent; this contest of sharp wits is conducted according to the forms of polite etiquette.

35. ringstraked, 'striped.' The word does not seem to occur elsewhere[1] in English literature[2].'

every one that had white in it, i. e. only a small proportion.

37. poplar, R. V. marg. 'storax tree.' The storax 'is the *Styrax officinalis*, a showy shrub covered with a profusion of

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[1] i. e. outside the Authorised and Revised Versions, and quotations and references to these versions.

[2] Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

and peeled white strakes in them, and made the white
appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods 38
which he had peeled over against the flocks in the
gutters in the watering troughs where the flocks came to
drink; and they conceived when they came to drink.
And the flocks conceived before the rods, and the flocks 39
brought forth ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. And 40
Jacob separated the lambs, and set the faces of the
flocks toward the ringstraked and all the black in the
flock of Laban; and he put his own droves apart, and
put them not unto Laban's flock. And it came to pass, 41
whensoever the stronger of the flock did conceive, that
Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the flock in the
gutters, that they might conceive among the rods; but 42

white flowers' which exudes a gum used for incense and medicinal purposes[1].

strakes, stripes.

37–39. Jacob prepared rods which presented the appearance of the colouring and marking of the animals which were to belong to him. These he set before the ewes at the moment of conception. The impression of the image of this colouring on the minds of the ewes is supposed to have caused them to bring forth offspring coloured in the same fashion, cf. verse 40.

38. in the gutters in the watering troughs, 'gutters' and 'watering troughs' have the same meaning in the original, and one of the two words should be omitted.

40. set the faces of the flocks, &c. This sentence is inconsistent with verse 35 f., according to which Laban had already removed the animals with exceptional colouring three days' journey from the flocks tended by Jacob. We have therefore here a fragment of an account alternative to that in verses 35–38. In this second form of the narrative Jacob impresses the imagination of the ewes by the sight of animals coloured as he wished their offspring to be. Perhaps in verse 38 the two synonymous clauses 'in the gutters,' 'in the watering troughs' are taken from the two sources.

41, 42. Jacob does not always use his device for getting lambs and kids which would belong to him. Obviously if *all* the lambs

[1] *Encycl. Biblica.*

when the flock were feeble, he put them not in: so the
43 feebler were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's. And
the man increased exceedingly, and had large flocks, and
maidservants and menservants, and camels and asses.
31 And he heard the words of Laban's sons, saying,
Jacob hath taken away all that was our father's; and of
that which was our father's hath he gotten all this glory.
2 And Jacob beheld the countenance of Laban, and,
3 behold, it was not toward him as beforetime. And the
LORD said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy
fathers, and to thy kindred; and I will be with thee.
4 And Jacob sent and called Rachel and Leah to the field
5 unto his flock, and said unto them, I see your father's

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and kids had been coloured to suit Jacob, Laban's suspicions would have been aroused.

xxxi. 1—xxxii. 2. JACOB'S RETURN TO CANAAN. (An Elohistic narrative with additions.)

xxx. 1–18*a*[1], (mostly E). Jacob proposes to return to Canaan, Rachel and Leah consent.

xxxi. 18*b*[2], (P) Jacob leaves Paddan-aram to return to Isaac.

xxxi. 19–42 (mostly E). Jacob flees, Laban pursues and overtakes him. Rachel having stolen the family teraphim, Laban charges Jacob with the theft, and searches his tents. Rachel succeeds in hiding them. Jacob upbraids Laban.

xxxi. 43–50 (mostly J). Jacob and Laban make a covenant at Gilead.

xxxi. 51–55 (E). Jacob and Laban make a covenant.

xxxii. 1, 2 (E). Jacob continues his journey and meets angels at Mahanaim.

Sources, &c. Cf. on xxix, xxx, of which this is a continuation. Here the main narrative is from the Elohistic Document, witness the frequent occurrence of 'God,' but a verse has been inserted from P, and clauses from J. The latter show that J had a very similar story to E.

1. glory, R. V. marg. 'wealth.'

2. it was not toward him, &c., not so friendly as it used to be.

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[1] As far as 'cattle.' [2] From 'and all his substance.'

countenance, that it is not toward me as beforetime;
but the God of my father hath been with me. And ye 6
know that with all my power I have served your father.
And your father hath deceived me, and changed my 7
wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me.
If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy wages; then 8
all the flock bare speckled: and if he said thus, The ring-
straked shall be thy wages; then bare all the flock ring-
straked. Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your 9
father, and given them to me. And it came to pass at 10
the time that the flock conceived, that I lifted up mine
eyes, and saw in a dream, and, behold, the he-goats which
leaped upon the flock were ringstraked, speckled, and
grisled. And the angel of God said unto me in the 11
dream, Jacob: and I said, Here am I. And he said, 12
Lift up now thine eyes, and see, all the he-goats which
leap upon the flock are ringstraked, speckled, and
grisled: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee.
I am the God of Beth-el, where thou anointedst a pillar, 13
where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee
out from this land, and return unto the land of thy

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7. ten times. Perhaps the original story has been abbreviated. Jacob's indignation at Laban's deceit is the classic example of the way in which men denounce in others the vices which they themselves practice.

9. God hath taken away, cf. above, p. 298.

10. I . . . saw in a dream. Jacob's speech refers mostly to matters not hitherto mentioned. Perhaps there were references to them in the original E, which have been omitted by one of the editors. One can hardly suppose that the Elohist intended us to understand that the statements as to Laban's deceit and this dream were 'pious' frauds on the part of Jacob; though the incidents connected with the Blessing show that Jacob was quite capable of such mendacity.

12. grisled, i. e. grey, the Hebrew word means 'spotted.'

13. Cf. xxviii. 13 ff.

14 nativity. And Rachel and Leah answered and said unto
him, Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in
15 our father's house? Are we not counted of him strangers?
for he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured our
16 money. For all the riches which God hath taken away
from our father, that is ours and our children's: now
17 then, whatsoever God hath said unto thee, do. Then
Jacob rose up, and set his sons and his wives upon the
18 camels; and he carried away all his cattle, [P] and all
his substance which he had gathered, the cattle of his
getting, which he had gathered in Paddan-aram, for
to go to Isaac his father unto the land of Canaan.
19 [JE] Now Laban was gone to shear his sheep: and
20 Rachel stole the teraphim that were her father's. And
Jacob stole away unawares to Laban the Syrian, in that

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15. our money, *lit.* 'the price paid for us.'

18. (P) **to Isaac his father,** according to the other documents Isaac must have been dead, cf. on xxviii. 21.

19. teraphim, spoken of as 'my gods' verse 30, 'thy gods' verse 32. The exact character of these 'teraphim' or 'teraphs' is not certain. They were some sort of religious symbols, according to many scholars domestic idols, more or less roughly in human form. In 1 Sam. xix. 15, 16, when David flees from his house, Michal puts the teraphim in his bed, and makes it up to look like a human figure. In Hosea iii. 4 the teraphim are reckoned as part of the legitimate apparatus of religion. There were teraphim in Micah's sanctuary and that at Dan[1]. In 1 Sam.[1] xv. 23 it is implied that teraphim were a wicked superstition. This passage in *Samuel* is sometimes ascribed to the Elohist, to whom the references to the teraphim here belong. The meaning of our story here is that the teraphim were not a legitimate Israelite institution, but a superstition imported from Syria. This idea is further worked out in other Elohistic passages. In xxxv. 2-4 Jacob makes his household bury the strange gods they have, a clear reference to this passage, and in Joshua xxiv. 15, 23 Joshua addresses similar admonitions to the Israelites.

20. stole away unawares: R.V. marg. Heb. 'stole the heart

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[1] Judges xvii. f.

he told him not that he fled. So he fled with all that 21
he had; and he rose up, and passed over the River, and
set his face toward the mountain of Gilead.

And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob 22
was fled. And he took his brethren with him, and 23
pursued after him seven days' journey; and he overtook
him in the mountain of Gilead. And God came to 24
Laban the Syrian in a dream of the night, and said unto
him, Take heed to thyself that thou speak not to Jacob
either good or bad. And Laban came up with Jacob. 25
Now Jacob had pitched his tent in the mountain: and

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of'; but the word translated 'heart' is also used for 'mind, intelligence'; we might translate 'outwitted.'

21. the River: Euphrates.

Gilead: a term used in various senses—for the whole or part of the Israelite territory east of Jordan, especially for the district assigned to Gad: and for some particular place, mountain, or city of that region. Here a particular place seems referred to, since verses 46-55 explain why the name Gilead was given to a certain heap or monument. See on verses 47, 48.

22. the third day . . . 23. seven days' journey. This implies that Jacob, travelling 'with all that he had' (verse 21), after he had 'increased exceedingly,' and acquired 'large flocks, male and female slaves, camels, and asses' (xxx. 43), made the journey in less than ten days. As the distance from Haran to Gilead as the crow flies is about 300 miles, this feat is said to be impossible[1]. It is possible, as has been suggested, that the author of these verses, the Elohist, placed Laban's home somewhere nearer to Gilead.

24. Cf. xx. 3.

speak not . . . either good or bad: an emphatic way of forbidding Laban to do or say anything, the assumption being that Laban's intention was to harm Jacob. To Laban such conduct would have seemed 'good'—righteous retribution. The LXX. has 'speak no evil.' This is, of course, the practical meaning.

25. the mountain. We should naturally suppose that 'the mountain of Gilead,' the only one in the context, is intended. But the form of the verse suggests a difference between 'the mountain' where Jacob pitched and 'the mountain of Gilead'

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[1] Dillmann, Gunkel, Holzinger.

Laban with his brethren pitched in the mountain of
26 Gilead. And Laban said to Jacob, What hast thou
done, that thou hast stolen away unawares to me, and
carried away my daughters as captives of the sword?
27 Wherefore didst thou flee secretly, and steal away from
me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee
away with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with
28 harp; and hast not suffered me to kiss my sons and my
29 daughters? now hast thou done foolishly. It is in the
power of my hand to do you hurt: but the God of your
father spake unto me yesternight, saying, Take heed to
thyself that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad.
30 And now, *though* thou wouldest needs be gone, because
thou sore longedst after thy father's house, *yet* wherefore
31 hast thou stolen my gods? And Jacob answered and
said to Laban, Because I was afraid: for I said, Lest
thou shouldest take thy daughters from me by force.
32 With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not
live: before our brethren discern thou what is thine with
me, and take it to thee. For Jacob knew not that
33 Rachel had stolen them. And Laban went into Jacob's
tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the tent of the two
maidservants; but he found them not. And he went

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occupied by Laban. If so, we cannot identify Jacob's mountain. But, probably, Jacob's 'mountain' is Gilead, and the awkward form of the verse is due to the use of two sources.

29. in the power of my hand: i. e. in my power.

30. my gods . . . 32. thy gods. Cf. on verse 19.

31. The answer to verses 26–28.

33. the two maidservants. Bilhah and Zilpah, Jacob's concubines. The end of the verse implies that Laban went straight out of Leah's tent into Rachel's, so that we should alter the order of the clauses and read, 'Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into the tent of the two female slaves, and into Leah's tent.' He went to Jacob's tent first, because the women's quarters, the harem, would only be entered in a case of necessity; he went

out of Leah's tent, and entered into Rachel's tent. Now 34
Rachel had taken the teraphim, and put them in the
camel's furniture, and sat upon them. And Laban felt
about all the tent, but found them not. And she said 35
to her father, Let not my lord be angry that I cannot
rise up before thee; for the manner of women is upon
me. And he searched, but found not the teraphim.
And Jacob was wroth, and chode with Laban: and 36
Jacob answered and said to Laban, What is my trespass?
what is my sin, that thou hast hotly pursued after me?
Whereas thou hast felt about all my stuff, what hast thou 37
found of all thy household stuff? Set it here before my
brethren and thy brethren, that they may judge betwixt
us two. This twenty years have I been with thee; thy 38
ewes and thy she-goats have not cast their young, and
the rams of thy flocks have I not eaten. That which was 39
torn of beasts I brought not unto thee; I bare the loss
of it; of my hand didst thou require it, whether stolen
by day or stolen by night. Thus I was; in the day the 40

next to the concubines' tent, because, if he had found the teraphim there, the wives would have been spared the annoyance of the search. For a similar reason he went *last* into the tent of the favourite wife, Rachel.

34. in the camel's furniture. The word[1] translated 'furniture' only occurs here. The LXX renders it 'saddle,' but it is commonly explained as a palanquin[2], which would be big enough to hide fairly large articles.

39. In the ancient Israelite code[3] commonly called the Book of the Covenant, and believed to have been included by the Elohist in his work, it is provided[4] that if an animal in charge of a herdsman was torn in pieces, the herdsman should produce the mangled remains, and should not be liable to make good the loss. Hence, according to our verse, Jacob had done more for Laban than the law required.

40. in the day the drought . . . the frost by night. In hot

[1] *Kar.* [2] Spurrell &c. [3] Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. [4] Exod. xxii. 10-13.

drought consumed me, and the frost by night; and my
41 sleep fled from mine eyes. These twenty years have I
been in thy house; I served thee fourteen years for thy
two daughters, and six years for thy flock: and thou hast
42 changed my wages ten times. Except the God of my
father, the God of Abraham, and the Fear of Isaac, had
been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away
empty. God hath seen mine affliction and the labour of
43 my hands, and rebuked thee yesternight. And Laban
answered and said unto Jacob, The daughters are my
daughters, and the children are my children, and the
flocks are my flocks, and all that thou seest is mine:
and what can I do this day unto these my daughters, or
44 unto their children which they have borne? And now
come, let us make a covenant, I and thou; and let it be
45 for a witness between me and thee. And Jacob took a
46 stone, and set it up for a pillar. And Jacob said unto
his brethren, Gather stones; and they took stones, and
made an heap: and they did eat there by the heap.
47 And Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha: but Jacob called

countries excessive heat in the day may be followed by severe cold at night.

42. the Fear of Isaac. Cf. verse 53 and Isa. viii. 13. The phrase means the God whom Isaac worshipped, and is a further description of 'the God of Abraham.' The 'Fear of Isaac' may have been the special title of the deity worshipped at Mizpah or Gilead.

44. covenant. See on vi. 18.

let it be for a witness. A covenant would not be a 'witness.' A slight difficulty in the Hebrew construction suggests that some words have fallen out after 'thou,' perhaps 'and let us make a heap,' or 'erect a pillar.'

45. Cf. on xxviii. 18, E.

46. an heap: evidently the sanctuary at Gilead or Mizpah included a sacred stone-heap, a feature of some primitive cults, seldom however mentioned among the Israelites, cf. verses 47. 48.

47. Jegar-sahadutha . . . Galeed. The former, used by Laban the Aramaean, is the Aramaic phrase, and the latter, used by Jacob

it Galeed. And Laban said, This heap is witness be- 48
tween me and thee this day. Therefore was the name
of it called Galeed: and Mizpah, for he said, The LORD 49

the Hebrew, the Hebrew phrase for 'Heap of Witness.' In the ancient manuscripts only consonants were written, and 'Galeed' and 'Gilead' were identical. This verse therefore shows that there was a stone-heap, or sanctuary with such heap, called Gilead; that this name was explained as *gal 'ed*, 'Heap of Witness'; and the origin of the name and the sanctuary were ascribed to Jacob and Laban. This story would probably be preserved at the sanctuary. In Joshua xxii. 34 we are told that when the eastern tribes returned to Gilead after the conquest of Canaan they erected an altar and 'called the altar *Ed*[1] (i. e. "Witness"); for, said they, it is a witness between us that Yahweh is God.' In this verse of *Joshua* we probably have another etymology of Gilead, and another account of the origin of a sanctuary with a stone-heap, here regarded as an ancient altar. But the two passages can hardly refer to the same heap. Verse 52 indicates that the *Genesis* Galeed was on the border between the territory of Israel and of Syria; the *Joshua* Galeed was close to the Jordan[2]. Heaps, of course, were common, and such a title as 'Heap of Witness' might be given to more than one. But Gilead, as the name of a district, would probably have nothing to do with 'Heap of Witness'; its etymology is uncertain, but it is often connected with a similar Arabic word, meaning 'hard, rough,' because of the uneven surface of Gilead. The highest portion of the hills of Southern Gilead is still called Mount Gilead, and possibly the highest peak, Mount Osha, of this Mount Gilead is the Galeed of *Genesis*.

48. This *second* naming of the heap points to a second source.

49. Mizpah: i.e. 'the Watch-tower.' This third naming of the heap points to a third source, or to a note added by some editor or copyist, or to a mistake made in copying. In verse 45 Jacob set up a pillar, *maṣṣeba*. Mizpah was written *miṣpa*. The Samaritan-Hebrew text[3] here reads *maṣṣeba* for *miṣpa*. If the explanation in this verse referred to *maṣṣeba* it would be quite as appropriate as the explanation of Reuben in xxix. 32. The site of Mizpah is unknown, but in Judges xi. 11 there is a sanctuary at Mizpah in Gilead.

The LORD watch, &c.: i.e. 'when we are separated, and

[1] *Ed* is omitted in most Hebrew MSS., but is supplied by the Revisers from some Hebrew MSS., and the Syriac. The original reading may have been 'Galeed.'

[2] Joshua xxii. 10.

[3] See p. 42.

watch between me and thee, when we are absent one
50 from another. If thou shalt afflict my daughters, and
if thou shalt take wives beside my daughters, no man
is with us; see, God is witness betwixt me and thee.
51 [E] And Laban said to Jacob, Behold this heap, and
behold the pillar, which I have set betwixt me and thee.
52 This heap be witness, and the pillar be witness, that I
will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt
not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm.
53 The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God
of their father, judge betwixt us. And Jacob sware by
54 the Fear of his father Isaac. And Jacob offered a sacri-

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cannot watch each other, especially when I (Laban) cannot see that you (Jacob) do not ill-treat my daughters, may Yahweh keep His eye upon you.' The verse is an expression of mutual distrust, and is singularly unsuitable for an inscription of the so-called Mizpah-rings, which are used as tokens by separated friends and lovers.

absent: Heb. 'hidden.'

52. This verse indicates that this narrative was attached to a boundary-cairn, probably connected with a sanctuary, on the border line between the territory of Israel (Jacob) and Syria (Laban). But our knowledge of the history is not sufficient to enable us to locate it.

53. the God of their father, judge. This translation would be required by the Samaritan-Hebrew[1] text, and many of the versions, and is perhaps a possible rendering of the Massoretic-Hebrew[1] text. It expresses the idea found elsewhere in *Genesis*, and certainly that of the final editor, that the families of Abraham and Nahor were connected by the common worship of the same deity who was also the God of their father Terah. But the literal rendering of the Massoretic-Hebrew text is that of R. V. marg. 'the gods . . . judge.' Moreover, the LXX and some Hebrew MSS. omit the phrase 'the God of their father.' If we adopt this reading, the natural rendering is 'The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor judge (*plural*),' i. e. the God of Abraham was *not*, in the primitive story, identical with the God of Nahor.

Fear. See verse 42.

54. A repetition of 46 *b*, from a different source.

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[1] See p. 42.

fice in the mountain, and called his brethren to eat bread: and they did eat bread, and tarried all night in the mountain. And early in the morning Laban rose 55
up, and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them: and Laban departed, and returned unto his place. And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met 32
him. And Jacob said when he saw them, This is God's 2
host: and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.

[J] And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his 3

xxxii. 1, 2 (E). *The vision at Mahanaim.* This vision of angels seen by Jacob as he re-enters the Promised Land is usually compared to the similar vision seen at Beth-el just after he had left home; and the vision is interpreted as a pledge of Divine protection in view of the coming meeting with Esau. But there is nothing of this in the paragraph itself: there is the barest statement, and an etymology. Probably these two verses are a fragment of a longer story, and the rest has been omitted as unedifying. It has been suggested[1] that the complete story told of a conflict between Jacob and the 'angels,' similar to his wrestling in xxxii. 24. The 'messengers of Elohim,' **angels of God**, might, in the earliest form of the story, be supernatural beings who had nothing to do with the God of Israel[2].

2. God's host or 'camp,' *mahaneh Elohim*, is a natural etymology of **Mahanaim**; another, equally natural, derivation is given in verse 10, where Jacob says he has become 'two companies (*mahanoth*)'; the *form* of Mahanaim is the dual, and it might be read as 'two camps' or 'companies.' The name, however, is not generally held to be a real dual, but may be the word 'camp,' *mahaneh*, modified for use as a proper name, cf. 'Chester' from the Latin *castra*, camp. Mahanaim was perhaps the most important Israelite city east of the Jordan: it was the capital of Ish-bosheth; and also the head quarters of David during the revolt of Absalom. Its site has not been certainly determined, but it must have lain north of the Jabbok. We gather that there was an important sanctuary at Mahanaim, from which this story was derived.

xxxii. 3—xxxiii. 17. JACOB'S MEETING WITH ESAU (J[3]).
xxxii. 3–7*a*[4]. Negotiations between Jacob and Esau.

[1] Gunkel. [2] Cf. on vi. 2.
[3] With fragments of other sources, see below.
[4] As far as 'was distressed.'

4 brother unto the land of Seir, the field of Edom. And
he commanded them, saying, Thus shall ye say unto my
lord Esau; Thus saith thy servant Jacob, I have so-
5 journed with Laban, and stayed until now: and I have
oxen, and asses *and* flocks, and menservants and maid-
servants: and I have sent to tell my lord, that I may

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xxxii. 7 *b* [1]–12. (*Perhaps later addition if* 13 *b*–21 *belongs to J.*) Jacob takes precautions against the anger of Esau, and prays for the help of Yahweh.

xxxii. 13 *a* [2]. He encamps for the night.

xxxii. 13 *b* [3]–21. (*Perhaps E if* 7 *b*–12 *belongs to J.*) Jacob takes precautions against the anger of Esau, and spends the night at Mahanaim [4].

xxxii. 22–32. Jacob crosses the Jabbok, and wrestles with a supernatural being at Peniel. His name is changed to Israel.

xxxiii. 1–17. Meeting and reconciliation of Jacob and Esau. They separate, Jacob goes to Succoth and Esau to Mount Seir.

Sources, &c. The main story seems to be taken from the Primitive Document; but there are repetitions which indicate the presence of fragments of the Elohistic Document and of editorial additions. These are so difficult to identify with certainty that we have not tried to point them out in the margin of the text, but have made some reference to them in the preceding analysis and the following notes. Perhaps E had a meeting at Mahanaim preceded by a struggle with the 'angels'; J, at Peniel, preceded by the struggle with the 'man.'

In this story also we have a combination of the political relations of Israel and Edom, their alternating wars and alliances, with typical narratives [5], and perhaps reminiscences of the personal experiences of an individual Jacob [6]. The connexion of Mahanaim or Peniel with the reconciliation suggests that these sanctuaries were used by both Edom and Israel; but the distance from Edom is a difficulty.

3. Seir. See xiv. 6. The double description **the land of Seir, the field of Edom** indicates the combination of two sources, a phrase from each. Note that Esau or Edom is already settled in a land named after him long before there is a land of Israel, i. e. the tribe Edom had a settled home before Israel conquered Canaan.

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[1] From 'and he divided.'
[2] As far as 'that night.'
[3] From 'and took.'
[4] See note on verse 21.
[5] See p. 48.
[6] See also on xxxii. 28.

find grace in thy sight. And the messengers returned to 6
Jacob, saying, We came to thy brother Esau, and more-
over he cometh to meet thee, and four hundred men
with him. Then Jacob was greatly afraid and was 7
distressed: and he divided the people that was with him,
and the flocks, and the herds, and the camels, into two
companies; and he said, If Esau come to the one 8
company, and smite it, then the company which is left
shall escape. And Jacob said, O God of my father 9
Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, O LORD, which
saidst unto me, Return unto thy country, and to thy
kindred, and I will do thee good: I am not worthy of 10
the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which
thou hast shewed unto thy servant; for with my staff
I passed over this Jordan; and now I am become two
companies. Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of 11
my brother, from the hand of Esau: for I fear him, lest

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5. find grace in thy sight: i. e. 'conciliate thee, win thy favour.'

7*b*–13*a*. These verses are parallel to 13*b*–21; each of the two paragraphs describes Jacob's preparations for the meeting with Esau. Moreover, the 'lodging at night' appears in 13*a* and 21. It is often supposed that 7*b*–13*a* comes from J and 13*b*–21 from E; but according to others 7*b*–12 is a later addition, and 13*b*–21 is from J, and 13*a* is from E.

9. Cf. xxxi. 3.

do thee good: give thee prosperity.

10. I am not worthy of the least of all: R. V. marg. Heb. 'I am less than all.'

mercies: rather, 'tokens of love and favour.'

truth: rather, 'faithfulness.'

two companies: Heb. two *mahanoth*, 'hosts' or 'camps,' so in verses 7 and 8. Apparently an etymology of Mahanaim, cf. on verse 2. A difficulty arises from **this Jordan**, which, like verse 22, suggests the immediate neighbourhood of the river, perhaps the special ford crossed by Jacob when fleeing from home. But other references to Mahanaim seem to show that it was some considerable distance east of the Jordan. On the other hand Mahanaim seems mentioned in verse 21 (which see). Perhaps E placed the episode at Mahanaim and J at Peniel.

he come and smite me, the mother with the children.
12 And thou saidst, I will surely do thee good, and make
thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be
13 numbered for multitude. And he lodged there that
night; and took of that which he had with him a present
14 for Esau his brother; two hundred she-goats and twenty
15 he-goats, two hundred ewes and twenty rams, thirty
milch camels and their colts, forty kine and ten bulls,
16 twenty she-asses and ten foals. And he delivered them
into the hand of his servants, every drove by itself; and
said unto his servants, Pass over before me, and put
17 a space betwixt drove and drove. And he commanded
the foremost, saying, When Esau my brother meeteth
thee, and asketh thee, saying, Whose art thou? and
whither goest thou? and whose are these before thee?
18 then thou shalt say, *They be* thy servant Jacob's; it is
a present sent unto my lord Esau: and, behold, he also
19 is behind us. And he commanded also the second, and
the third, and all that followed the droves, saying, On
this manner shall ye speak unto Esau, when ye find him;
20 and ye shall say, Moreover, behold, thy servant Jacob is
behind us. For he said, I will appease him with the
present that goeth before me, and afterward I will see
21 his face; peradventure he will accept me. So the
present passed over before him: and he himself lodged
that night in the company.

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11. the mother with the children: cf. Hos. x. 14.

12. Cf. xiii. 16, xxii. 17.

13. Cf. above and verse 21.

14. Note the absence of horses. The horse does not seem to have been known in Egypt before about B. C. 1600; and was not perhaps common amongst the Israelites before the time of Solomon.

21. in the company: Heb. in the *mahaneh*, 'camp' or 'host.'

And he rose up that night, and took his two wives, and 22
his two handmaids, and his eleven children, and passed
over the ford of Jabbok. And he took them, and sent 23
them over the stream, and sent over that he had. And 24
Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him

It is proposed[1] to read here *Mahanaim* (MHNM) for *mahaneh* (MHNH). The final M and H are sometimes confused.

22. his eleven children. According to xxix, xxx Jacob had at this time eleven sons and one daughter. The word[2] translated 'children' mean strictly 'male children,' but would naturally be used for children generally. In any case Dinah[3] is ignored, another indication that the reference to her did not belong to the older form of the narrative.

Jabbok, the *Nahr-ez-Zerka*, a tributary running into the Jordan, about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee. Mahanaim is sometimes placed on its banks, sometimes a few miles to the north.

xxxii. 24-32. *Jacob's wrestling.* Often regarded as compounded from J and E, but perhaps almost wholly J, cf. above and verses 28, 30. But the form and meaning of the original story are uncertain, because probably even the author of the Primitive Document found in it features which he omitted or altered because they were unsatisfactory; and later editors may have made further changes. Probably in the original the 'man' was the deity, *Elohim* or *El*, worshipped at Peniel; this deity was distinct from Yahweh; and, in the original story, Jacob compelled him to utter his name. It was often a point of magic to compel the spirit who had been conjured up to reveal his name. Jacob also won a blessing by force from this deity, i. e. the sanctuary at Peniel became a place where Israelites might worship and be blessed. The narrative may be a reminiscence of the conquest of the district by the Israelites, which would involve the subjection of the deity of Peniel by the God of Israel, and the appropriation of the sanctuary to the use of the Israelites. The 'halting upon the thigh' was no doubt[4] a feature of a ritual dance at this sanctuary, the origin of which was explained by our narrative. This story would be preserved in the sanctuary at Peniel. The story of the wrestling by night with the unknown supernatural being is one of 'Rembrandtesque grandeur[4].'

Probably, however, the editor who completed the Pentateuch, and inserted this story in its final form, intended the 'man' to be understood as a representative of the God of Israel, and interpreted

[1] Ball. [2] *Yeladhaw.* [3] Cf. xxx. 21. [4] Gunkel.

25 until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he
prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his
thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was strained, as
26 he wrestled with him. And he said, Let me go, for the
day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go,
27 except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is
28 thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said, Thy
name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel: for
thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast

the 'wrestling' as a symbol of wrestling with God in prayer; and the Christian Church has always used the narrative in this sense.

24. there wrestled a man. In the original story Jacob, alone in the darkness, is assaulted by a 'man[1],' an unearthly being in human form, who seeks to slay him[2]. Later interpretation changed this grim scene to a figure of a night spent in agonizing prayer. 'Wrestled,' *ye'abeq*, is an etymology of Jabbok (*yabboq*). 'Man,' see above.

25. he touched the hollow of his thigh. It is suggested[3] that in the original story it may have been Jacob who played this trick, after his fashion, on his opponent.

26. he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh. The 'man,' like the spirits in tales of magic, cannot remain after the dawn. The advantage is with Jacob, which favours the view mentioned in the previous verse.

28. Israel: usually explained as 'God striveth,' and sometimes regarded as the battle-cry of the nation. The other explanation in R. V. marg., 'He who striveth with God,' is the etymology implied in the latter part of the verse, but is not likely to have been the original meaning of the name. Other explanations are 'God persists' and 'El's warrior.' Another interesting theory is that 'Israel' is a contraction for *'ish Rahel*, 'the men of Rachel,' i. e. the Rachelites or tribe of Rachel[4]. According to this view Rachel, as the leading tribe of the confederation, ultimately gave its name to the whole. The *change* of name at this point probably corresponds to the enlargement of the confederation by the addition to the original Jacob of the Aramaean tribe of Rachel, and perhaps of other tribes, Leah, &c. A name believed to be Israel occurs on a monument of Merenptah II, *c.* B.C. 1280, apparently as the name of a people conquered by him in Palestine.

thou hast striven (R. V. marg. 'had power') **with God and**

[1] Cf. above.
[2] Cf. Exod. iv. 24; Num. xxii. 33.
[3] Holzinger.
[4] Cf. p. 285.

prevailed. And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me, 29
I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it
that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him
there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: 30
for, *said he*, I have seen God face to face, and my life is
preserved. And the sun rose upon him as he passed 31
over Penuel, and he halted upon his thigh. Therefore 32
the children of Israel eat not the sinew of the hip which
is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because
he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of
the hip.

And Jacob lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, 33
Esau came, and with him four hundred men. And he
divided the children unto Leah, and unto Rachel, and
unto the two handmaids. And he put the handmaids 2
and their children foremost, and Leah and her children
after, and Rachel and Joseph hindermost. And he him- 3
self passed over before them, and bowed himself to the

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with men, and hast prevailed. R. V. marg., the LXX, and Vulgate have 'thou hast had power with God, and thou shalt prevail against men.' This wrestling is referred to in Hos. xii. 3, 4, 'In his manhood he had power with God: yea, he had power over the angel and prevailed.'

30. Peniel: understood, according to the following etymology, as 'face of God.' The alternative form Penuel in the next verse is probably the more accurate. The name would suggest a place where God reveals Himself, and was no doubt the name of an ancient sanctuary. The site is uncertain. For this verse see also xvi. 13.

32. eat not the sinew of the hip: usually explained as the *nervus ischidiacus*, but according to others[1] the *musculus glutacus*. This custom is not mentioned anywhere else in the O. T.; and a reference in the Mishna[2] is clearly dependent on this passage.

xxxiii. **2. Rachel and Joseph hindermost:** the favourites in the safest place.

3. bowed himself to the ground seven times. Many of the

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[1] e. g. Gunkel. [2] About A. D. 200.

ground seven times, until he came near to his brother.
4 And Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell
5 on his neck, and kissed him: and they wept. And he
lifted up his eyes, and saw the women and the children;
and said, Who are these with thee? And he said, The
children which God hath graciously given thy servant.
6 Then the handmaids came near, they and their children,
7 and they bowed themselves. And Leah also and her
children came near, and bowed themselves: and after
came Joseph near and Rachel, and they bowed them-
8 selves. And he said, What meanest thou by all this
company which I met? And he said, To find grace in
9 the sight of my lord. And Esau said, I have enough;
10 my brother, let that thou hast be thine. And Jacob
said, Nay, I pray thee, if now I have found grace in thy
sight, then receive my present at my hand: forasmuch as
I have seen thy face, as one seeth the face of God, and
11 thou wast pleased with me. Take, I pray thee, my gift
that is brought to thee; because God hath dealt graciously
with me, and because I have enough. And he urged
12 him, and he took it. And he said, Let us take our
13 journey, and let us go, and I will go before thee. And

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letters in the Amarna tablets[1] from subject princes and Egyptian officials in Palestine to the King of Egypt begin with 'At the feet of my lord, seven times and seven times I fall.'

8–11. Another example of the elaborate courtesy, in external form, of Oriental bargaining, cf. xxiii. 8–16.

10. forasmuch as I have seen thy face: R. V. marg. 'for therefore have I seen.'

as one seeth the face of God: another allusion to Peniel, see xxxii. 30. In the Amarna tablets the Palestinian princes address Pharaoh as 'my lord, my god, my sun[2].' 'God' in 5, 10 f. is probably a trace of E.

11. gift: Heb. 'blessing.'

enough: Heb. 'all.'

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[1] See p. 71, and Winckler's trans. p. 207, &c. [2] Winckler, p. 121, &c.

he said unto him, My lord knoweth that the children are tender, and that the flocks and herds with me give suck: and if they overdrive them one day, all the flocks will die. Let my lord, I pray thee, pass over before his 14
servant: and I will lead on softly, according to the pace of the cattle that is before me and according to the pace of the children, until I come unto my lord unto Seir. And Esau said, Let me now leave with thee some of the 15
folk that are with me. And he said, What needeth it? let me find grace in the sight of my lord. So Esau 16
returned that day on his way unto Seir. And Jacob 17
journeyed to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle: therefore the name of the place is called Succoth.

[R] And Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem, 18

14–17. The reconciliation, after all, is only half-hearted, at any rate on Jacob's part. The conclusion shows that he is full of anxious mistrust of Esau, and eager to get away from him on any pretext. He promises to follow him to Seir, but makes off in quite another direction, first to Succoth and then to Shechem.

Succoth: 'booths'; east of the Jordan and south of the Jabbok, the exact site unknown.

xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31. DINAH AT SHECHEM (R).

xxxiii. 18–20. Jacob comes to Shechem, buys land, and builds an altar.

xxxiv. 1–24. Dinah is seduced by Shechem, who afterwards obtains her from Jacob as his wife. A treaty for trade and intermarriage is concluded between Israel and Shechem, on condition that the Shechemites should be circumcised. They fulfil this condition.

xxxiv. 25–31. Simeon and Levi take advantage of the prostration of the Shechemites through their circumcision to massacre them and to rescue Dinah. Jacob rebukes his sons.

Sources, &c. This section is based on an ancient story contained in J or E or in both, but it has been so extensively altered by a late post-exilic editor that it was not worth while to try and divide the whole of it up amongst the original sources.

which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from

The probable origin of various fragments will be mentioned in the notes.

The original story was a piece of tribal annals told in the form of personal history. Its general meaning was as follows:—A treaty existed between the Israelites and the men of Shechem. The story of Abimelech[1] seems to imply this situation, note its reference[2] to the Temple of Baal-berith, 'the Lord of the Covenant.' Probably in consequence of this treaty the Israelite clan Dinah settled in Shechem or its territory, and was oppressed by the Shechemites—a parallel to the history of Israel in Egypt. Simeon and Levi were closely connected with Dinah as 'children of Leah,' branches of the Leah tribe. Provoked by the sufferings of their kinsfolk, they set at nought the obligations of the treaty, surprised Shechem by a treacherous stratagem, sacked the city, and massacred the inhabitants.

This act was solemnly disavowed by the rest of Israel, and the offending tribes were placed under a ban, witness the curse upon Simeon and Levi in the *Blessing of Jacob*[3].

The sequel, which is no longer told in the revised edition of the story, was that Simeon and Levi, thus abandoned to the fury of the Canaanites, suffered some great disaster which annihilated them as independent tribes; so that the remnants of Simeon sought refuge in Judah, and the Levitical refugees were scattered among the tribes. This episode probably belongs to the early stages of the conquest of Canaan.

The late editor has, no doubt, done his best to tone down the objectionable features of the original story—a fact which we should be better able to appreciate if we had that story as it was told, say in the time of David. The revised story seems directed against marriage with Gentiles.

We may quote a curious parallel to this story from modern times. 'One year when the Annezy Arabs passed by with their cattle they pitched by the Kheybar valleys, as in a place of much water. An Annezy maiden entered Kheybar to see the daughters of the town: and there a young man was wounded for her love, who enticed the gazing damsel . . . he was the Sheykh Okilla's son! The poor young woman went home weeping;—and she was a Sheykh's daughter. This felony was presently reported in the nomads' encampment! and, "It was not to be borne that a virgin should suffer violence!" said all the Beduw.

'The Annezy Sheykhs sent to require satisfaction from the Sheykh of Kheybar; who answered them shortly that the Annezy

[1] Judges ix. [2] Judges ix. 4.
[3] Gen. xlix. 5-7 (which see), cf. xxxiv. 30.

Paddan-aram; and encamped before the city. And he 19
bought the parcel of ground, where he had spread his
tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's
father, for an hundred pieces of money. And he erected 20
there an altar, and called it El-elohe-Israel.

And Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto 34
Jacob, went out to see the daughters of the land. And 2
Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the prince of the
land, saw her; and he took her, and lay with her, and
humbled her. And his soul clave unto Dinah the 3
daughter of Jacob, and he loved the damsel, and spake
kindly unto the damsel. And Shechem spake unto his 4

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should no more water there. On the morrow the town Sheykh, Okilla, rode to the nomads' encampment, with a few horsemen, and defied them. The Beduw set furiously upon them; and Okilla fell, and there were slain many of his people. The Beduw now overran all; they conquered the villages, and bound themselves by oath not to give their daughters to the people of Kheybar for ever[1].'

18. came in peace to the city of Shechem: perhaps a reference to a treaty between Israel and Shechem, R. V. marg. 'came to Shalem, a city of Shechem,' a less probable rendering.

when he came from Paddan-aram: a fragment of P or an addition of R.

19. he bought the parcel of ground: cf. xlviii. 22.

pieces of money: translates a Hebrew word, *Kesitah*, only found here, Joshua xxiv. 32, and Job xlii. 11, and of unknown meaning. The LXX and Vulgate render it 'lamb.'

20. erected there an altar. *Judges*, as we have seen, mentions a Temple of Baal-berith at Shechem, and Yahweh was worshipped in early times under the title Baal; an Israelite sanctuary at Shechem is mentioned in Joshua xxiv. 26, E.

El-elohe-Israel: El, the God of Israel.

1. Dinah. See xxx. 21.

2. Hivite. See x. 17.

3. his soul clave unto Dinah: he fell in love with her.

spake kindly: Heb. 'to the heart of,' i. e. made love to her.

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[1] C. M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, II. 114. One or two explanatory words have been inserted, and English words have been substituted for Arab terms used by C. M. D.

5 father Hamor, saying, Get me this damsel to wife. Now
Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter;
and his sons were with his cattle in the field: and Jacob
6 held his peace until they came. And Hamor the father
of Shechem went out unto Jacob to commune with him.
7 And the sons of Jacob came in from the field when they
heard it: and the men were grieved, and they were very
wroth, because he had wrought folly in Israel in lying
with Jacob's daughter; which thing ought not to be done.
8 And Hamor communed with them, saying, The soul of
my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: I pray you
9 give her unto him to wife. And make ye marriages with
us, give your daughters unto us, and take our daughters
10 unto you. And ye shall dwell with us: and the land
shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get
11 you possessions therein. And Shechem said unto her
father and unto her brethren, Let me find grace in your
12 eyes, and what ye shall say unto me I will give. Ask me
never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according
as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife.
13 And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor
his father with guile, and spake, because he had defiled
14 Dinah their sister, and said unto them, We cannot do
this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised;
15 for that were a reproach unto us: only on this condition
will we consent unto you: if ye will be as we be, that
16 every male of you be circumcised; then will we give our
daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to
us, and we will dwell with you, and we will become one
17 people. But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be
circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will

5. the field: the open country at some distance from the city.
12. dowry and gift. Cf. xxiv. 53.

be gone. And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem 18
Hamor's son. And the young man deferred not to do 19
the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter:
and he was honoured above all the house of his father.
And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of 20
their city, and communed with the men of their city,
saying, These men are peaceable with us; therefore let 21
them dwell in the land, and trade therein; for, behold,
the land is large enough for them; let us take their
daughters to us for wives, and let us give them our
daughters. Only on this condition will the men consent 22
unto us to dwell with us, to become one people, if every
male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised.
Shall not their cattle and their substance and all their 23
beasts be ours? only let us consent unto them, and they
will dwell with us. And unto Hamor and unto Shechem 24
his son hearkened all that went out of the gate of his
city; and every male was circumcised, all that went out
of the gate of his city. And it came to pass on the 25
third day, when they were sore, that two of the sons of
Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each
man his sword, and came upon the city unawares, and
slew all the males. And they slew Hamor and Shechem 26
his son with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out
of Shechem's house, and went forth. The sons of Jacob 27
came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they
had defiled their sister. They took their flocks and their 28
herds and their asses, and that which was in the city, and
that which was in the field; and all their wealth, and all 29
their little ones and their wives, took they captive and

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20. the gate of their city: the usual place of public meeting.
25. Cf. Joshua v. 8.
unawares: R. V. marg. 'boldly.'

30 spoiled, even all that was in the house. And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me, to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and, I being few in number, they will gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house.
31 And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?

35 [E] And God said unto Jacob, Arise, go up to Beth-el, and dwell there: and make there an altar unto God, who appeared unto thee when thou fleddest from the face of
2 Esau thy brother. Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change

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XXXV. JACOB RETURNS TO HIS FATHER; DEATH AND BURIAL OF ISAAC. (Compiled from J, E, and P.)

XXXV. 1–5, 6[b], 7, 8, 14. (E) At God's bidding Jacob goes to Beth-el, having first buried the idols of his household at Shechem. He builds an altar at Beth-el and sets up a pillar there. Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, dies.

XXXV. 6[a], 9–13, 15. (P) Jacob goes to Luz; God blesses him there, and changes his name to Israel. He names the place Beth-el.

XXXV. 16–22 *a*[1]. (JE) Rachel dies on the way from Beth-el to Beth-lehem, after giving birth to Benjamin. Reuben sins with Bilhah.

XXXV. 22 *b*[2]–29. (P) Jacob's twelve sons. He comes to Isaac at Hebron. Isaac dies, and Esau and Jacob bury him.

Sources, &c. See the separate paragraphs and verses.

XXXV. 1–5. (E) *Jacob fulfils his vow at Beth-el.* These and the connected verses are the completion of the story of the founding of the sanctuary at Beth-el.

2. the strange gods that are among you: including the teraphim that Rachel had stolen from her father, see XXXI. 19.

purify yourselves: perform ablutions and other ritual acts, including the changing of garments, cf. Exod. XIX. 10.

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[1] As far as 'heard of it.'

[2] From 'Now the sons.'

your garments: and let us arise, and go up to Beth-el; 3
and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered
me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the
way which I went And they gave unto Jacob all the 4
strange gods which were in their hand, and the rings
which were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the
oak which was by Shechem. And they journeyed: and 5
a great terror was upon the cities that were round about
them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.
[P] So Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of 6
Canaan (the same is Beth-el), [E] he and all the people
that were with him. And he built there an altar, and 7
called the place El-beth-el: because there God was re-
vealed unto him, when he fled from the face of his
brother. And Deborah Rebekah's nurse died, and she 8
was buried below Beth-el under the oak: and the name
of it was called Allon-bacuth.

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4. rings: probably regarded as having magic powers, cf. the 'charms' worn on watch-chains.

under the oak: R. V. marg. 'terebinth,' i. e. in the sanctuary, so Joshua xxiv. 26.

5. a great terror: Heb. 'a terror of God.'

6. (P) **Luz.** See xxviii. 19.

8. (E[1]) **Deborah:** 'bee.' Rebekah's nurse is mentioned without a name in xxiv. 59. The chronological notes would make her about 150 at this time; but the verse is an isolated fragment which has no relation to the chronology. This Deborah is buried 'under the oak' at Beth-el, doubtless a sacred tree in the sanctuary, like that at Shechem in verse 4. In Judges iv. 4 the other Deborah has her official seat under a palm-tree near Beth-el. Apparently there was a sacred tree or trees at the sanctuary at Beth-el called 'the tree of Deborah,' and some traditions connected it with the prophetess and others with the nurse. The word used here for 'oak'[2] may perhaps be regarded as a generic term for trees.

Allon-bacuth: that is 'the oak of weeping,' apparently called 'oak of Tabor' in 1 Sam. x. 3, where, however, 'Tabor' is probably a misreading for 'Deborah.'

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[1] Sometimes given to J. [2] *Allon.*

9 [P] And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he
10 came from Paddan-aram, and blessed him. And God
said unto him, Thy name is Jacob: thy name shall not
be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name:
11 and he called his name Israel. And God said unto him,
I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation
and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings
12 shall come out of thy loins; and the land which I gave
unto Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to
13 thy seed after thee will I give the land. And God went
up from him in the place where he spake with him. [E]
14 And Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he spake
with him, a pillar of stone: and he poured out a drink
15 offering thereon, and poured oil thereon. [P] And
Jacob called the name of the place where God spake
16 with him, Beth-el. [JE] And they journeyed from Beth-
el; and there was still some way to come to Ephrath:

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xxxv. 9–13. (P) *The Priestly account of the names 'Israel' and 'Beth-el.'* This account was originally intended to supersede those of the older documents. Beth-el is simply a place where God appears. There is no recognition of the altar, the pillar, or the tithes. In giving the new name 'Israel' the story of the midnight wrestling is suppressed.

11. Cf. xvii. 1–8.

14. (E) Cf. xxviii. 18.

xxxv. 16–20. (JE) *Birth of Benjamin and Death of Rachel.* It is not certain to which of the two earlier documents this story belongs. It was evidently connected with a monument, originally perhaps part of a sanctuary, called the Pillar; the monument may have been, like the Galeed cairn in xxxi. 52, a boundary stone, marking the southern boundary of the tribe of Rachel. The story is generally regarded as a piece of tribal history. The birth of Benjamin takes place in what was later on the territory of the tribe of Benjamin, and this 'birth' is really the formation of the tribe. The meaning of the statement that Rachel died when Benjamin was born is that the formation of the new tribe Benjamin broke up the old tribe Rachel.

16. Ephrath. See verse 19. The careful definition of the

and Rachel travailed, and she had hard labour. And it 17
came to pass, when she was in hard labour, that the mid-
wife said unto her, Fear not; for now thou shalt have
another son. And it came to pass, as her soul was in 18
departing (for she died), that she called his name Ben-
oni: but his father called him Benjamin. And Rachel 19
died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath (the same is
Beth-lehem). And Jacob set up a pillar upon her grave: 20
the same is the Pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day.

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position is intended to make it clear that the event took place in the territory of Benjamin. Beth-lehem was in Judah.

18. Ben-oni, i. e. 'The son of my sorrow.' **Benjamin,** i.e. 'The son of the right hand.' Ben-oni was probably an old tribal name; we find Onan[1] as the name of a clan of *Judah* in about the same district, and there was a Benjamite city Ono[2]. Professor Sayce connects 'Oni' with the sacred city On in Egypt, and supposes that it is a trace of the worship of an Egyptian deity. Beth-el, according to him, was originally Beth-on, cf. the Biblical name Beth-aven[3]. 'Benjamin' means 'southern,' 'the right hand' being the south in Hebrew; the district is called in 1 Sam. ix. 4, &c. 'the land Yemini,' i. e. the southern land, just as Southern Arabia is called the Yemen. So the term in 1 Sam. ix. 1, &c. for Benjamite is *'ish Yemini*, 'Southerner.' The name of the tribe therefore is formed from the name of the district which it occupied; and both the tribe and the name arose after the settlement in Canaan. As Benjamin is the youngest son of Jacob, it was the latest formed of the tribes; and as the son of Rachel and brother of Joseph, it broke off from Rachel or Joseph; and its name originally signified that it was the southern branch of the larger tribe.

19. Beth-lehem: about five miles south of Jerusalem. The name would be read by a Jew as 'house of bread'; but 'lehem' is often supposed to be the name of a god *Lahmu*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions.

20. the Pillar of Rachel's grave. Cf. xxviii. 18 and also above, p. 31. The name of 'pillar,' *maṣṣeba*, suggests that it was at one time a sacred pillar connected with a sanctuary. If the sanctuary were suppressed in the reforms of Josiah, the pillar might remain as a monument, and be regarded as a memorial

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[1] Gen. xxxviii. 4. [2] Ezra ii. 33.
[3] *Religions of Ancient Egypt*, &c., p. 87.

21 And Israel journeyed, and spread his tent beyond the
22 tower of Eder. And it came to pass, while Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his father's concubine: and Israel heard of it.

23 [P] Now the sons of Jacob were twelve: the sons of Leah; Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon, and Levi,
24 and Judah, and Issachar, and Zebulun: the sons of
25 Rachel; Joseph and Benjamin: and the sons of Bilhah,
26 Rachel's handmaid; Dan and Naphtali: and the sons of

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stone to Rachel. In 1 Sam. x. 2 we read of Rachel's tomb. in the border of Benjamin; and in Jer. xxxi. 15, 'A voice is heard in Ramah . . . Rachel weeping for her children.' Ramah lay between Beth-el and Beth-lehem.

xxxv. 21, 22. Perhaps J. *Reuben's sin with Bilhah.* This incident is sometimes regarded as a figurative description of the low sexual morality prevailing in the tribe of Reuben; but on this view it is not clear how Bilhah comes in. More probably we have an obscure reference to some political misdoing of the tribe of Reuben in connexion with the Bilhah (Dan and Naphtali) tribe which provoked the resentment of the rest of Israel. Cf. the curse on Reuben in the *Blessing of Jacob*, xlix. 3, 4.

21. the tower of Eder: i. e. 'the tower of the flock.' The site is unknown.

xxxv. 22[b]–26 (P). *The Twelve Patriarchs.* There are many lists of the tribes, which are usually arranged so as to give *twelve*. The chief exception is the *Song of Deborah*. This number is obtained in various ways, usually by omitting Levi. Twelve seems to have been a sacred number, perhaps because it was the product of three and four[1]. The sons of Nahor and the tribes of Ishmael[2] were also twelve. The twelve tribes of Israel have been connected, very improbably, with the twelve signs of the Zodiac. The tribes are arranged in O. T. lists in twenty different orders[3], usually the grouping is more or less according to the mothers, and Reuben comes first, less often Judah is first. In Ezek. xlviii. we have a quasi-geographical order, and Dan (the northern Dan) comes first.

24, 26 (P). **Benjamin . . . these . . . were born . . . in Paddan-aram:** an express contradiction of verses 16–18, JE.

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[1] *Encycl. Bibl.* [2] Gen. xvii. 20, xxii. 20–24, xxv. 16.
[3] See the author's article TRIBE in Hastings' *Bible Dict.*

Zilpah, Leah's handmaid; Gad and Asher: these are the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Paddan-aram.
27 And Jacob came unto Isaac his father to Mamre, to Kiriath-arba (the same is Hebron), where Abraham and Isaac sojourned.
28 And the days of Isaac were an hundred and fourscore years.
29 And Isaac gave up the ghost, and died, and was gathered unto his people, old and full of days: and Esau and Jacob his sons buried him.

36 Now these are the generations of Esau (the same is Edom).
2 Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan; Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah the daughter of

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xxxv. 27–29 (P). *Death and Burial of Isaac.* Cf. xxvii. 41.

xxxvi. The Descendants of Esau. (Compiled from P and J with numerous editorial additions.)

xxxvi. 1–5. (P) Esau's wives and children.

xxxvi. 6–8. (P) Esau migrates to Mount Seir.

xxxvi. 9–14. (P) Genealogy of Esau's sons.

xxxvi. 15–19. (P) The 'dukes' of Edom.

xxxvi. 20–28. (P) Genealogy of the Horites.

xxxvi. 29, 30. (P) The 'dukes' of the Horites.

xxxvi. 31–39. (J) The kings of Edom.

xxxvi. 40–43. (P) The 'dukes' of Edom.

Sources, &c. The final editor, and probably some of his predecessors, have made many explanatory additions; and the material we have marked as P is not all consistent, and can only come partly from the Priestly Document, the rest being from other late post-Exilic sources. It is probable, however, that P, &c. here had older authorities behind them. The chapter is tribal history in the form of genealogies. It suggests that many clans of Edom ultimately were absorbed in Israel.

An abstract of this chapter is given in 1 Chron. i. 34–54.

N.B. Where no reference is given to other occurrences of a name in this chapter it is only found here. Also where nothing is said on any name, or its derivation, its meaning, or the location of tribe denoted by it, is not given, there is no information sufficiently certain to be worth giving.

2. Adah, &c. Cf. iv. 23, xxvi. 34.

Oholibamah, &c.: 'tent of the high place,' only in this

3 Zibeon the Hivite; and Basemath Ishmael's daughter,
4 sister of Nebaioth. And Adah bare to Esau Eliphaz;
5 and Basemath bare Reuel; and Oholibamah bare Jeush,
and Jalam, and Korah: these are the sons of Esau, which
6 were born unto him in the land of Canaan. And Esau
took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all
the souls of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts,
and all his possessions, which he had gathered in the
land of Canaan; and went into a land away from his
7 brother Jacob. For their substance was too great for
them to dwell together; and the land of their sojournings
8 could not bear them because of their cattle. And Esau
9 dwelt in mount Seir: Esau is Edom. And these are
the generations of Esau the father of the Edomites in
10 mount Seir: these are the names of Esau's sons; Eliphaz
the son of Adah the wife of Esau, Reuel the son of
11 Basemath the wife of Esau. And the sons of Eliphaz
were Teman, Omar, Zepho, and Gatam, and Kenaz.

chapter and in a parallel passage 1 Chron. i. 52. Cf. the symbolic names Oholah and Oholibah in Ezek. xxiii. 4, &c. In verse 41 Oholibamah is a 'duke.'

Anah: only in this chapter and 1 Chron. i. 38–41. In verse 24, which see, and in some authorities here Anah is a *son* of Zibeon; in verse 20 Anah is *brother* of Zibeon. Cf. x. 7.

Zibeon the Hivite: rather as in verse 20 'the Horite'; only here and 1 Chron.; in verse 29 he is a 'duke.' Zibeon = 'hyaena.'

3. Basemath, &c. See xxvi. 34, xxviii. 9.

4. Eliphaz: only in this chapter and 1 Chron., except as the name of a character in *Job*.

Reuel: only in this chapter and 1 Chron.; but elsewhere as the name of persons, amongst them the father-in-law of Moses.

5. Jeush . . . Jalam . . . Korah: 'dukes' in verse 18; all three occur here and 1 Chron. Also 1 Chron. vii. 10 Jeush is a clan of Benjamin, and 1 Chron. ii. 43 Korah is a clan of Caleb. These clans may have been originally Edomite, and then have become absorbed in Israel, or may have been divided between Israel and Edom.

11. Teman: 'south,' yet commonly placed in the north-east of Edom; in verse 42 a 'duke'; frequently mentioned in the O.T.

Omar, Zepho, and Gatam: only in this chapter and 1 Chron.;

And Timna was concubine to Eliphaz Esau's son; and 12
she bare to Eliphaz Amalek: these are the sons of Adah
Esau's wife. And these are the sons of Reuel; Nahath, 13
and Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah: these were the sons
of Basemath Esau's wife. And these were the sons of 14
Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of
Zibeon, Esau's wife: and she bare to Esau Jeush, and
Jalam, and Korah. These are the dukes of the sons of 15
Esau: the sons of Eliphaz the firstborn of Esau; duke
Teman, duke Omar, duke Zepho, duke Kenaz, duke 16
Korah, duke Gatam, duke Amalek: these are the dukes
that came of Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these are
the sons of Adah. And these are the sons of Reuel 17
Esau's son; duke Nahath, duke Zerah, duke Shammah,
duke Mizzah: these are the dukes that came of Reuel in
the land of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath
Esau's wife. And these are the sons of Oholibamah 18
Esau's wife; duke Jeush, duke Jalam, duke Korah:

'dukes' in verses 15 and 16. Zepho is Zephi in Chron., or according to LXX Zophar, which is probably the original form, cf. Zophar in *Job*.

Kenaz: a 'duke' in 42, cf. on the Kenizzites, xv. 19.

12. Timna: in verse 22 and 1 Chron. i. 39 a daughter of Seir the Horite; in verse 40 and 1 Chron. i. 51 a 'duke' of Edom; in 1 Chron. i. 36 a son of Eliphaz; apparently a clan sometimes reckoned Edomite and sometimes Horite.

Amalek: a tribe whose main seat was in the Sinaitic desert; frequently mentioned in O. T.

13. Nahath . . . Zerah . . . Shammah . . . Mizzah: 'dukes' in verse 17. Zerah is the 'father' of one of the kings of Edom in verse 33, the name of a clan of Judah in xxxviii. 30, and of a clan of Simeon in Num. xxvi. 13 (cf. verse 5). Otherwise these names only occur in this chapter and 1 Chron. i. 37, except as the names of individuals not connected with Edom.

15. dukes: R. V. marg. 'chiefs,' 15–19, the lists of these 'dukes' is the same as the list of sons and grandsons in 11–14 (which see). 'Duke' in A. V. meant simply 'chief.' Verses 11–14 are probably an alternative version of 15–19.

these are the dukes that came of Oholibamah the
19 daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. These are the sons of
Esau, and these are their dukes: the same is Edom.
20 These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the inhabitants
of the land; Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and Anah,
21 and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: these are the dukes
that came of the Horites, the children of Seir in the land
22 of Edom. And the children of Lotan were Hori and
23 Hemam; and Lotan's sister was Timna. And these are
the children of Shobal; Alvan and Manahath and Ebal,

xxxvi. 20-30. *The Horite Clans.* Horite clans of course remained in Edom after the Edomites settled in the country and became the ruling race. Verses 29, 30 repeat verses 20, 21.

20. Seir the Horite. See xiv. 6. The district Seir in this passage becomes the eponymous ancestor of the Horites, the oldest known inhabitants of the land.

Lotan: a 'duke' in verse 29, only in this chapter and 1 Chron.; perhaps another form of Lot.

Shobal: a 'duke' in verse 29, here and 1 Chron., also a clan of Caleb or Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 50, iv. 1, &c. Cf. verse 5.

Zibeon and Anah. See verse 2.

21. Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: only in this chapter and 1 Chron. Dishon and Dishan are probably accidental repetitions of the same name, which may mean 'mountain-goat.' In verse 25 Dishon is the *grandson* of Seir.

22. Hori: rather 'the Horites,' used in verses 20, 30 for the whole tribe; here for the first family of the first clan. Cf. the use of two equivalent names Angles and English for a single tribe and for a group of tribes.

Hemam: in 1 Chron. 'Homam.'

Timna. See verse 12.

23. Alvan . . . Manahath . . . Ebal . . . Shepho . . . Onam[1]. Alvan and Shepho only here and 1 Chron. i. 40 in the forms Alian and Shephi. Alvan is another form of the Alvah of verse 40. Manahath is also a clan and city of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 52, 54, viii. 6, cf. verse 5. Ebal, which has no connexion with Mount Ebal, occurs as the 'son' of Joktan, 1 Chron. i. 22, in the parallel Gen. x. 28 *Obal* (which see). Onam, also a Jerahmeelite clan of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 26, perhaps a form of Onan, the son of Judah, Gen. xxxviii. 4, &c.

[1] See N. B. p. 327.

Shepho and Onam. And these are the children of 24
Zibeon; Aiah and Anah: this is Anah who found the
hot springs in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of
Zibeon his father. And these are the children of Anah; 25
Dishon and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah. And 26
these are the children of Dishon; Hemdan and Eshban
and Ithran and Cheran. These are the children of Ezer; 27
Bilhan and Zaavan and Akan. These are the children of 28
Dishan; Uz and Aran. These are the dukes that came 29
of the Horites; duke Lotan, duke Shobal, duke Zibeon,
duke Anah, duke Dishon, duke Ezer, duke Dishan: 30
these are the dukes that came of the Horites, according
to their dukes in the land of Seir.

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24. Aiah = 'falcon,' here and 1 Chron. i. 40; the name of the father of Rizpah, 2 Sam. iii. 7, &c.

Anah who found the hot springs, &c. This fragment in the form of personal anecdote is a curious interruption of the list of names; similar fragments are found amongst the genealogies at the beginning of *Chronicles*. It is doubtless a remnant of some ancient tradition; but unfortunately is no longer intelligible, for which reason, perhaps, it is omitted in *Chronicles*. The meaning of the word translated 'hot springs,' A. V. 'mules,' is unknown. The wording reminds us of Exod. iii. 1 and 1 Sam. ix. 1–3.

25, 26. Dishon (Dishan). See verse 21.

25. Oholibamah. See verse 5.

26. Hemdan . . . Eshban . . . Ithran . . . Cheran: here and 1 Chron. i. 41. Hemdan as Hamran in *Chronicles*. Ithran also 1 Chron. vii. 37 as a clan of Asher, cf. verse 5. Hemdan may = 'desirable,' and Yithran 'eminent.'

27. Bilhan . . . Zaavan . . . Akan: here and 1 Chron. i. 42. Bilhan also occurs as a clan of Benjamin, with a 'son' Jeush, 1 Chron. vii. 10; the name is sometimes supposed to be a form of Bilhah, see verse 5 and xxix. 29. Akan is Jaakan in *Chronicles*, and in Deut. x. 6 we read 'the Israelites journeyed from the Wells of the Bene-Jaakan to Moserah: there Aaron died'; in the parallel Num. xxxiii. 31 there is simply 'Bene-Jaakan.'

28. Uz . . . Aran. For Uz see x. 23; Aran, here and 1 Chron. i. 42. Some MSS. and versions have Aram, see x. 22. Aran is perhaps the same as Oren, a Jerahmeelite clan of Judah, 1 Chron. ii. 25, cf. verse 5.

29, 30 = 20, 21.

31 [J] And these are the kings that reigned in the land of
Edom, before there reigned any king over the children
32 of Israel. And Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom;
33 and the name of his city was Dinhabah. And Bela died,
and Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah reigned in his
34 stead. And Jobab died, and Husham of the land of the
35 Temanites reigned in his stead. And Husham died, and
Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field
of Moab, reigned in his stead: and the name of his city

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xxxvi. 31-39. *The Kings of Edom* (J). These kings are commonly regarded as individuals; as each of them has a different capital, and no one is the son of his predecessor, they probably corresponded to the judges in Israel, and were really chiefs of clans, rather than kings of the whole nation.

31. before there reigned any king over the children of Israel. An indication that this verse, at any rate, was written after the time of Saul. The Hebrew, however, should perhaps be rendered 'before any king belonging to the Israelites reigned [over Edom],' i. e. before the time of David, 2 Sam. viii. 14; cf. 1 Kings xxii. 47.

32. Bela the son of Beor: sometimes identified with 'Balaam the son of Beor.' We read of a city, Bela, Gen. xiv. 2, and of Benjamite and Reubenite clans bearing the name, xlvi. 21, 1 Chron. v. 8.

Dinhabah[1]: here and 1 Chron. i. 43.

33. Jobab the son of Zerah of Bozrah: Jobab, cf. x. 29, Joshua xi. 1, perhaps a form of Job. Zerah, see verse 13. Bozrah, one of the most important cities of Edom, perhaps the modern *el-Buseireh* some distance north of Petra, in the district south-east of the Dead Sea.

34. Husham: here and 1 Chron. i. 45 f.

Temanites. See verse 11.

35. Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian, &c. Hadad is the name of a Canaanite and Syrian storm-god. An Edomite prince Hadad appears in the reign of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 14. Ben-hadad, Hadad-ezer, &c. are also names of Syrian princes. Cf. verse 39, and xxv. 15. Bedad is perhaps a contraction of Ben-hadad. Midian, see xxv. 2. Nothing else is known of this war.

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[1] See N. B. p. 327.

was Avith. And Hadad died, and Samlah of Masrekah 36
reigned in his stead. And Samlah died, and Shaul of 37
Rehoboth by the River reigned in his stead. And Shaul 38
died, and Baal-hanan the son of Achbor reigned in
his stead. And Baal-hanan the son of Achbor died, 39
and Hadar reigned in his stead: and the name of his
city was Pau; and his wife's name was Mehetabel,
the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab.
[P] And these are the names of the dukes that came of 40

Avith: here and 1 Chron. The LXX has Gittaim, 2 Sam. iv. 3.

36. Samlah of Masrekah: here and 1 Chron. Some MSS. of the LXX read *Salmah*, a form of Solomon. Masrekah may mean 'place of choice vines.'

37. Shaul of Rehoboth by the River. The name is identical in Hebrew with that of the Israelite king Saul. It is also the name of clans of Simeon and Levi, xlvi. 10, 1 Chron. vi. 24. For Rehoboth see xxvi. 22; it has nothing to do with the Assyrian city in x. 11. The river is probably the river of Egypt, the *Wady el Arish*, running from the north of the Sinaitic Peninsula into the Mediterranean between Pelusium and Gaza.

39. Baal-hanan the son of Achbor: here and 1 Chron. Baal-hanan (='Baal is gracious,' a synonym of Hannibal) is also the name of an official of David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. Achbor (=mouse) also the name of certain Israelites, 2 Kings xxii. 12, Jer. xxvi. 22.

Hadar: we should probably read Hadad with 1 Chron. i. 50 and other authorities. Instead of his father's name, we have the name and genealogy of his wife, perhaps because he succeeded in right of his wife[1]; or this verse may have come originally from a source other than that used in the preceding.

Pau: 1 Chron. i. 50 'Pai'; we should probably read with LXX *Peor*, the name of a mountain and city to the north-west of the Dead Sea.

Mehetabel = 'God confers benefits,' here and 1 Chron., also the name of a man Neh. vi. 10.

Matred: here and 1 Chron.

Me-zahab: here and 1 Chron. The name as now written would read as the Hebrew for 'Waters of Gold.' Cf. however Di-zahab, Deut. i. 1. Both are probably corruptions of some foreign name.

xxxvi. 40–43. *The 'dukes' of Esau.* For the most part a selection of names from previous lists, a *third* version of 10–14.

[1] Gunkel.

Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names; duke Timnah, duke Alvah, duke Jetheth;
41,42 duke Oholibamah, duke Elah, duke Pinon; duke Kenaz,
43 duke Teman, duke Mibzar; duke Magdiel, duke Iram: these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession. This is Esau the father of the Edomites.

37 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings,

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40. Timnah. See verse 12.

Alvah. See Alvan, verse 23.

Jetheth. Here and 1 Chron. i. 51. Some MSS. of LXX read Jether, the name of clans of Judah and Asher, 1 Chron. ii. 32, iv. 17, vii. 38.

41. Oholibamah. See verse 2.

Elah: here and 1 Chron. i. 52, a common Israelite name; in 1 Chron. iv. 15 the name of a clan of Caleb (Judah).

Pinon: here and 1 Chron., perhaps the name of a place, cf. Punon, Num. xxxiii. 42.

42. Kenaz . . . Teman. See verses 15, 16.

43. Mibzar: perhaps = 'fortress,' here and 1 Chron.; probably the name of a place.

Magdiel . . . Iram: here and 1 Chron.

xxxvii; xxxix—l. THE STORY OF JOSEPH.

The general outline of this story is often interpreted as tribal history. The tribe Joseph is supposed to have quarrelled with the other tribes, and to have taken refuge in Egypt. Thither, later on, the other tribes followed, and there was a reconciliation. But the whole of this detailed story cannot be tribal history. Prof. Cheyne[1] holds the following view:—'There are five distinct elements in our present Joseph-story:—(1) the transformed tradition of a sojourn of the tribe of Joseph in Egypt; (2) the tradition, true in essential, of a Hebrew vizier under Khu-en-aten[2]; (3) the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, &c. (an imaginative appendage); (4) the narrative (not historical) connecting the changed agrarian law of Egypt with Khu-en-aten's vizier; (5) the narrative (also unhistorical) of the sojourn of the other "sons" of Israel in Egypt.' Prof. Cheyne, following Winckler, seems inclined to identify the 'Hebrew vizier' with an Egyptian official *Yanhamu* mentioned in the Amarna Tablets. On the other hand, the

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[1] *Encycl. Bibl.*

[2] Amenophis IV, of the Amarna Tablets, *c.* B C. 1400.

in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of 2
Jacob. Joseph, being seventeen years old, [J] was

author[1] of the latest important commentary on Genesis considers that the chapters on Joseph consist of a number of legends, mostly from Egyptian and other foreign sources, set in a framework of tribal history.

The character of Joseph is described in much greater detail than that of the other patriarchs, and special stress is laid on its moral features; e. g. his chastity and his affection for Jacob and Benjamin.

The story of Daniel is partly based on that of Joseph. Daniel also is a captive in a foreign land, and becomes vizier by interpreting the king's dream.

xxxvii. Joseph sold into Egypt (JE[2]).

xxxvii. 1. (P) Jacob settles in Canaan.

xxxvii. 2*a*[3]. (P) The heading of the Priestly account of Jacob's family.

J	E
2*b*[4]–4. Joseph tells tales of his brethren; he is his father's favourite, and his father gives him a princely robe. His brethren hate him.	5–11. Joseph dreams that he will be chief amongst his brethren, and even over his parents. His brethren envy him.
12, 13*a*[5]. Israel sends him to his brothers at Shechem.	13*b*[6], 14*a*[7]. His father sends him to his brothers.
14*b*[8]. He comes to Shechem.	15–17. He finds them at Dothan.
18. They conspire to kill him.	19, 20. They propose to kill the dreamer, throw the body into a pit, and say that he has been eaten by a wild beast.
21. Judah[9] saves his life.	22–25*a*[10]. Reuben persuades them to put him in the pit alive, intending to take him out and send him home. They take off the princely robe, and put him in the pit.

[1] Gunkel. [2] Mostly. [3] As far as 'seventeen years old.'
[4] From 'was feeding.' [5] As far as 'unto them.'
[6] From 'and he said.' [7] As far as 'again.'
[8] From 'So he sent.' [9] See note on this verse.
[10] As far as 'eat bread.'

feeding the flock with his brethren; and he was a lad with the sons of Bilhah, and with the sons of Zilpah, his

J	E
25 *b*–27[1], 28 *b*[2]. The brothers, by Judah's advice, sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites.	28 *a*[3]. Midianite traders take Joseph out of the pit.
	28 *c*. They take him to Egypt (cf. xxxix.) (J).
	29, 30. Reuben finds the pit empty.
	31. The brothers stain the robe with goat's blood.
32 *a*[4]. The brothers send the robe [to Israel].	32 *b*[6]–33 *a*[6]. They bring the robe to their father, who concludes that Joseph has been eaten by a wild beast.
33 *b*[7]. Who concludes that Joseph is torn in pieces.	
35. His father mourns for him.	34. Jacob mourns for him.
	36. The Midianites sell Joseph to Potiphar.

Sources, &c. The above analysis, in its leading features, is very generally adopted; there cannot of course be certainty as to all the details. The table of the analysis will help the reader to recognize the many repetitions. The characteristics of J are that the father is called Israel; Joseph incurs his brothers' resentment by telling tales; they meet at Shechem; Judah[8] befriends him; the brethren sell him to Ishmaelites. In E the father is called Jacob; Joseph incurs his brothers' resentment by his dreams of pre-eminence; they meet at Dothan; Reuben befriends him; his brethren put him in a pit, from which he is taken by Midianites. The 'princely robe' seems to be a feature of both documents.

The friendship with Judah or Reuben might be explained as tribal alliances, the favouritism as an early pre-eminence of the tribe of Joseph. Cf. above, p. 334.

2. the generations of Jacob, the heading of a new section of P.

the sons of Bilhah . . . the sons of Zilpah . . . the evil report of them. Bilhah and Zilpah the two concubines. Quarrels

[1] From 'and they lifted up.'
[2] From 'and sold,' to 'silver.'
[3] As far as 'pit.'
[4] As far as 'colours.'
[5] From 'and they brought.'
[6] As far as 'devoured him.'
[7] From 'Joseph.'
[8] Cf. note on verse 21.

father's wives: and Joseph brought the evil report of them unto their father. Now Israel loved Joseph more 3
than all his children, because he was the son of his old age: and he made him a coat of many colours. And 4
his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren; and they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him. [E] And Joseph dreamed a 5
dream, and he told it to his brethren: and they hated him yet the more. And he said unto them, Hear, I pray 6
you, this dream which I have dreamed: for, behold, we 7
were binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves came round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf. And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign 8
over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us? And they hated him yet the more for his dreams, and for his words. And he dreamed yet another dream, and 9
told it to his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed yet a dream; and, behold, the sun and the moon and

would often arise between the children of a favourite wife and the children of wives of inferior status, cf. the cases of Ishmael and Jephthah. There is no further separate reference to these 'sons.' The 'evil report' would be the 'report of their evil doings.' If this had to be interpreted as tribal history, it might be understood of some controversy.

3. the son of his old age: the latest born except Benjamin. Chapter xxx. 25 does not suggest that Joseph was much younger than his brethren. Probably before the Joseph story was taken up by J and E it was independent of the accounts of the births of the Patriarchs.

a coat of many colours: a mistranslation adopted from the LXX; the correct rendering is that of R. V. marg., 'a long garment with sleeves,' such as that worn by persons of distinction, e. g. Tamar the daughter of David[1].

9. sun . . . moon . . . eleven stars: 'father . . . mother . . . eleven brothers.' as in the next verse. Joseph's own mother, Rachel, was dead according to xxxv. 19, but cf. on verse 3.

[1] 2 Sam. xiii. 18, 19.

10 eleven stars made obeisance to me. And he told it to
his father, and to his brethren; and his father rebuked
him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou
hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren
indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to the
11 earth? And his brethren envied him; but his father
12 kept the saying in mind. [J] And his brethren went
13 to feed their father's flock in Shechem. And Israel said
unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in
Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. [E]
14 And he said to him, Here am I. And he said to him,
Go now, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and
well with the flock; and bring me word again. [J] So
he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and he came to
15 Shechem. [E] And a certain man found him, and,
behold, he was wandering in the field: and the man
16 asked him, saying, What seekest thou? And he said, I
seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they are
17 feeding *the flock*. And the man said, They are departed
hence: for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan.
And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in
18 Dothan. And they saw him afar off, [J] and before he
came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay
19 him. [E] And they said one to another, Behold, this
20 dreamer cometh. Come now therefore, and let us slay
him, and cast him into one of the pits, and we will say,

15. a certain man: possibly in the original story an appearance of a deity[1]; cf. xviii. 1, xxxii. 24.

17. Dothan. A hill a few miles north of Shechem still bears this name; perhaps one version of this story was told at a sanctuary at Dothan, the other at Shechem.

19. dreamer: quite the right English equivalent of the Hebrew phrase 'master of dreams.'

[1] Holzinger.

An evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams. [J] And Reuben heard it, 21
and delivered him out of their hand; and said, Let us not take his life. [E] And Reuben said unto them, 22
Shed no blood; cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, but lay no hand upon him: that he might deliver him out of their hand, to restore him to his father.
And it came to pass, when Joseph was come unto his 23
brethren, that they stript Joseph of his coat, the coat of many colours that was on him; and they took him, and 24
cast him into the pit: and the pit was empty, there was no water in it. And they sat down to eat bread: [J] and 25
they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a travelling company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt. And Judah said unto 26
his brethren, What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood? Come, and let us sell him to the 27

21. Reuben. It seems probable, in view of the rest of the analysis, that in this passage as it stood in J the friendly brother was Judah, and that Reuben has been substituted for Judah in this verse by a copyist or editor.

22. Shed no blood. A superstitious casuistry felt that to leave a man to starve to death was a less heinous crime than to cut his throat.

24. pit: an empty cistern.

25. travelling company: caravan.

from Gilead. The caravan route from Gilead to Egypt passed by Dothan.

spicery: R.V. marg., 'gum tragacanth, or storax.' Tragacanth is 'the resinous gum of the *Astragalus gummifer*[1].' For storax see on xxx. 37.

balm: R.V. marg., 'mastic.' The mastic is a tree yielding a kind of resin.

myrrh: R.V. marg., 'ladanum.' 'Ladanum is a resinous exudation of a low shrub of the order *Cistinae*[2].'

26. and conceal his blood, i. e. 'even if we are not found out.'

[1] *Encycl. Biblica.* [2] Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dict.*

Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he
is our brother, our flesh. And his brethren hearkened
28 unto him. [E] And there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of
the pit, [J] and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty
pieces of silver. [E] And they brought Joseph into
29 Egypt. And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and he rent his clothes.
30 And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child
31 is not; and I, whither shall I go? And they took
Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat, and dipped the coat
32 in the blood; [J] and they sent the coat of many
colours, [E] and they brought it to their father; and
said, This have we found: know now whether it be thy
33 son's coat or not. And he knew it, and said, It is my
son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; [J] Joseph
34 is without doubt torn in pieces. [E] And Jacob rent his
garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned
35 for his son many days. [J] And all his sons and all his
daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be
comforted; and he said, For I will go down to the grave

Possibly there is the further idea that if the blood were covered it would not 'cry to heaven,' and the murderers would enjoy absolute impunity: cf. iv. 10, 11; Job xvi. 18.

28. twenty pieces of silver, i. e. shekels. See on xx. 16. In Lev. xxvii. 5 a youth between five and twenty consecrated to Yahweh may be redeemed by the payment of twenty shekels.

30. child[1]: better 'lad.' See on xxi. 14.

35. his daughters. Hitherto the only daughter mentioned has been Dinah.

the grave: rather, as R. V. marg., 'Sheol, the name of the abode of the dead, answering to the Greek Hades, Acts ii. 27.' In Sheol the dead were thought of as still conscious, but living a feeble, shadowy, ghostlike life; see the descriptions of Sheol, Isa. xiv. 4-23; Ezek. xxxii. 17-32.

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[1] *Yeled.*

to my son mourning. And his father wept for him.
[E] And the Midianites sold him into Egypt unto 36
Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the
guard.

[J] And it came to pass at that time, that Judah went 38

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36. Midianites. The Hebrew has 'Medanites,' which must be as R. V. takes it, an alternative spelling of 'Midianites.'

Potiphar: LXX, 'Petephres,' probably the same as the Potiphera (LXX, 'Petephres') of xli. 45, &c.; the latter would be an exact reproduction of an Egyptian name P'dyp'R', meaning 'He whom the Sun-god (Ra) gave.' The name is said not to occur in Egyptian inscriptions earlier than B.C. 950, about the time of Solomon, but to be common in later times. In J Potiphar, under the name of Potiphera, is Joseph's father-in-law, see on xli. 45.

officer: strictly 'eunuch,' but if Potiphar was married[1] the word is used here in its wider sense of 'court official.'

captain of the guard: R. V. marg., 'Heb. chief of the executioners.' The 'executioners' might also be the bodyguard, and so naturally the keepers of the guard-house or prison[2]. But the translation usually accepted is 'chief of the butchers,' cf. the chief butler and chief baker of xl. 1. It might be the title of the 'superintendent of the royal kitchen.'

xxxviii. THE STORY OF TAMAR (J).

xxxviii. 1–5. Judah marries a Canaanite woman, who bears him three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah.

xxxviii. 6, 7. Er marries Tamar; Yahweh slays him because he was wicked.

xxxviii. 8–10. According to the Levirate law, Onan marries Tamar, but when he fails in his duty to her Yahweh slays him.

xxxviii. 11–30. When Tamar perceived that the Levirate law was not to be carried out by marrying her to Shelah, she arranges by a stratagem that she shall bear a child to Judah; she bears twins, Perez and Zerah.

Sources, &c. This chapter is generally regarded as tribal history, elaborated by the skill of the historian in the form of popular tradition. The birth of sons to Judah by a Canaanite woman means that the tribe of Judah absorbed Canaanite (? Edomite) clans, a fact established by other evidence[3]. The clans at first

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[1] xxxix. 1, 7, but see notes on these verses. [2] xl. 3.
[3] Judges i. 16, &c.

down from his brethren, and turned in to a certain
2 Adullamite, whose name was Hirah. And Judah saw
there a daughter of a certain Canaanite whose name was
3 Shua; and he took her, and went in unto her. And
she conceived, and bare a son; and he called his name
4 Er. And she conceived again, and bare a son; and she
5 called his name Onan. And she yet again bare a son,

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prominent, Er and Onan, were thus partly or wholly Canaanite; and—in the judgement of later times—were 'wicked,' and were destroyed in some disaster. The tribe was restored to its full strength by the formation of two new clans, Perez and Zerah, partly formed from the remnants of Er and Onan; or, as the story puts it, born from the wife of Er.

Such narratives as these are the natural result of the adoption of the genealogy as a form of stating tribal relationships. A genealogy implies marriage and birth, so that any special features in the relationship of tribes would be set forth by means of the figure of marriage and birth in exceptional circumstances. The period of history referred to is probably that of the Judges.

1. Judah went down from his brethren. In the earlier part of the period of the Judges Judah was separated from the northern tribes. In Judges i. 1–20 Judah and Simeon act independently, and Judah is not mentioned in the Song of Deborah.

Adullamite. Adullam is now generally placed to the north-west of Hebron.

Hirah: only mentioned in this chapter, perhaps the name of a tribe. Note that Hirah was a man, not a woman, see verses 20, 21.

2. Canaanite: a general term in J for the non-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine.

Shua: in 1 Chron. ii. 3 Bath-shua; not found elsewhere. An almost identical name occurs 1 Chron. vii. 32 for a clan of Asher. The Shuah of xxv. 2 is a different word. In 1 Chron. iii. 5 Bath-shua is given as the equivalent of Bath-sheba, the mother of Solomon. The use of 'shua' to form names, Elishua, &c., suggests that it may have been originally the name of a deity. A tribe is probably intended.

3. and he called: rather, with Samaritan-Hebrew text, &c., 'and she.'

Er. In 1 Chron. iv. 21 a 'son' or division of Shelah, i. e. Er, once the leading clan, became merged in Shelah. The name Er also occurs in the genealogy of Joseph, Luke iii. 28.

4. Onan: perhaps the same as *Onam* mentioned in xxxvi. 23

and called his name Shelah: and he was at Chezib, when she bare him. And Judah took a wife for Er his first- 6
born, and her name was Tamar. And Er, Judah's 7
firstborn, was wicked in the sight of the LORD; and the
LORD slew him. And Judah said unto Onan, Go in 8
unto thy brother's wife, and perform the duty of an
husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed to thy
brother. And Onan knew that the seed should not be 9
his; and it came to pass, when he went in unto his
brother's wife, that he spilled it on the ground, lest he
should give seed to his brother. And the thing which 10
he did was evil in the sight of the LORD: and he slew
him also. Then said Judah to Tamar his daughter in 11
law, Remain a widow in thy father's house, till Shelah
my son be grown up: for he said, Lest he also die, like
his brethren. And Tamar went and dwelt in her father's

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as a Horite clan; in 1 Chron. ii. 26 as a clan of Jerahmeel (Judah); cf. on xxxvi. 5.

5. Shelah: a name very similar to Shiloh, but it does not seem likely that Judah ever held Shiloh (cf., however, xlix. 10). In 1 Chron. iv. 21–23 there is a hopelessly obscure account of the clans of Shelah, in which the name Jashubi-lehem may perhaps indicate that this clan held Beth-lehem.

Chezib: site uncertain, probably the Cozeba mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 22 as one of the cities of Shelah.

6. Tamar = date-palm, also the name of a daughter of David, 2 Sam. xiii. 1; and of a daughter of Absalom, 2 Sam. xiv. 27; and of a city in Judah, Ezek. xlvii. 19. Tamar may be the name of a clan, but it is quite probable that it is the corruption of some less familiar name[1].

8. perform the duty of an husband's brother, i. e. marry the deceased brother's wife, Deut. xxv. 5; cf. Ruth iii, iv.

11. Lest he also die. Cf. Tobit iii. 8, where marriage with Sarah proved fatal to seven husbands in succession.

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[1] So Cheyne, 'JUDAH,' *Encycl. Biblica*. We cannot, however, follow Cheyne in thinking that there are sufficient grounds for supposing that the original name was Jerahmeel,

12 house. And in process of time Shua's daughter, the
wife of Judah, died; and Judah was comforted, and
went up unto his sheepshearers to Timnah, he and his
13 friend Hirah the Adullamite. And it was told Tamar,
saying, Behold, thy father in law goeth up to Timnah to
14 shear his sheep. And she put off from her the garments
of her widowhood, and covered herself with her veil, and
wrapped herself, and sat in the gate of Enaim, which is
by the way to Timnah; for she saw that Shelah was
grown up, and she was not given unto him to wife.
15 When Judah saw her, he thought her to be an harlot;
16 for she had covered her face. And he turned unto her
by the way, and said, Go to, I pray thee, let me come in
unto thee: for he knew not that she was his daughter in
law. And she said, What wilt thou give me, that thou
17 mayest come in unto me? And he said, I will send thee
a kid of the goats from the flock. And she said, Wilt
18 thou give me a pledge, till thou send it? And he said,
What pledge shall I give thee? And she said, Thy signet
and thy cord, and thy staff that is in thine hand. And
he gave them to her, and came in unto her, and she
19 conceived by him. And she arose, and went away, and

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12. the wife of Judah died: a feature introduced to make Judah's subsequent conduct less offensive.

Timnah. There are three or more Timnahs in the O.T., probably represented by the various *Tibnes* in modern Palestine. This one may have been on the northern frontier of Judah.

14. covered herself with her veil, and wrapped herself: probably = assumed the recognized dress of a prostitute; cf. verse 15.

Enaim: 'Wells,' probably the Enam of Joshua xv. 34; site unknown.

18. signet . . . cord . . . staff: objects personal to their owner; the possession of these by Tamar would show that she had had relations with Judah. The cord was probably the cord by which the signet-ring was hung round the neck; the staff would be carved or jewelled in some characteristic fashion.

put off her veil from her, and put on the garments of her widowhood. And Judah sent the kid of the goats by 20
the hand of his friend the Adullamite, to receive the pledge from the woman's hand: but he found her not. Then he asked the men of her place, saying, Where is 21
the harlot, that was at Enaim by the way side? And they said, There hath been no harlot here. And he 22
returned to Judah, and said, I have not found her; and also the men of the place said, There hath been no harlot here. And Judah said, Let her take it to her, 23
lest we be put to shame: behold, I sent this kid, and thou hast not found her. And it came to pass about 24
three months after, that it was told Judah, saying, Tamar thy daughter in law hath played the harlot; and moreover, behold, she is with child by whoredom. And Judah said, Bring her forth, and let her be burnt. When she was brought forth, she sent to her father in 25
law, saying, By the man, whose these are, am I with child: and she said, Discern, I pray thee, whose are these, the signet, and the cords, and the staff. And 26
Judah acknowledged them, and said, She is more right-

21. harlot[1]: R.V. marg., 'Heb. *kedeshah* [*lit.* 'a holy woman'], 'that is, a woman dedicated to impure heathen worship. See Deut. xxiii. 17, Hos. iv. 14.' Such women were attached to many sanctuaries, especially to those of Istar in Babylonia and Astarte in Syria. The sacrifice of chastity, as the greatest sacrifice a woman could make, was supposed to be an act of special devotion to the goddess. Cf. on xix. 30–38.

24. Judah said . . . let her be burnt. As his daughter-in-law she was under his authority. Technically, cf. verse 11, she was betrothed to Shelah, and a breach of the betrothal was almost as heinous as a breach of a marriage. Burning alive is mentioned in Lev. xxi. 9 as the punishment of a woman of priestly family in such cases; ordinary women were to be stoned, Lev. xxi. 10. Here we have an older usage.

[1] A different word from that used in verse 15.

eous than I; forasmuch as I gave her not to Shelah my
27 son. And he knew her again no more. And it came
to pass in the time of her travail, that, behold, twins
28 were in her womb. And it came to pass, when she
travailed, that one put out a hand: and the midwife
took and bound upon his hand a scarlet thread, saying,
29 This came out first. And it came to pass, as he drew
back his hand, that, behold, his brother came out: and
she said, Wherefore hast thou made a breach for thyself?
30 therefore his name was called Perez. And afterward
came out his brother, that had the scarlet thread upon
his hand: and his name was called Zerah.

39 And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and

27-30. Apparently the story of the birth of Jacob and Esau in another form and with different names; cf. xxv. 24–26.

28. a scarlet thread. Either the name of the son was originally different from Zerah, and was similar to the words for 'scarlet thread'; or 'scarlet thread' would suggest some word similar to Zerah.

29. Wherefore hast thou made a breach? (R. V. marg., 'How hast thou made a breach! a breach be upon thee!') . . . **Perez**, i. e. 'Breach.' The Bene Perez are mentioned, Neh. xi. 6, as living at Jerusalem after the Return. The birth of Perez is referred to in Ruth iv. 12; and according to Ruth iv. 18, Matt. i. 3 (cf. Luke iii. 33), Perez was an ancestor of David and therefore of our Lord. Perez was originally a clan-name, and occurs as an element in Baal-perazim, and Perez-uzza. The meaning of the name, and perhaps also its original form, are unknown.

30. Zerah: perhaps a corruption of *ezrah*, 'aboriginal.' According to Joshua vii. 1, Achan was of the clan Zerah. There is a reference to the Bene Zerah in Neh. xi. 24. Zerah was also the name of clans of Edom, xxxvi. 13, and Simeon, Num. xxvi. 13; see on Gen. xxxvi. 5.

The meaning of this story seems to be, as in the case of Ephraim and Manasseh Gen. xlviii, that the leadership rested at one time with Perez, and at another with Zerah.

xxxix. JOSEPH AND HIS MASTER'S WIFE (J)[1].

xxxix. 1-6. The Ishmaelites sell Joseph to an Egyptian[2], whom he serves with success and acceptance.

[1] Cf. below, '*Sources*, &c.' [2] Cf. on verse 1.

[R] Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard, [J] an Egyptian, bought him of the hand of the Ishmaelites, which had brought him down thither. And 2

xxxix. 7-20. His master's wife tempts him, and on his refusal accuses him of an attempted outrage. He is cast into prison.

xxxix. 21-23. He wins the favour of the governor of the prison, and is made head-warder.

Sources, &c. This chapter is almost entirely from J; a few phrases seem to have been introduced from E's account of Joseph's experiences with Potiphar; but these are not important enough to be indicated. The phrase in verse 1, 'Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard,' is an insertion of the editor from E, xxxvii. 36, necessitated by the attempt to combine the J and E stories into a single consecutive narrative.

This chapter is a version of an Egyptian tale, *The Two Brothers*, connected with an Israelite tribal hero. This tale runs somewhat as follows[1]:—There were two brothers, the elder Anup, the younger Bata, who were much attached to each other. Bata managed Anup's affairs with great success. One day when they were ploughing together Bata came to the house for some seed, leaving Anup in the field. Anup's wife tempted Bata without success; and when Anup came home in the evening his wife told him that Bata had outraged her. Anup rushed out to kill Bata, who, however, is protected by *Re*, the Sun-god; and at last convinces Anup of his innocence, whereupon Anup goes home and kills his wife.

There is more of the tale in the Egyptian story, but it has nothing to do with the Joseph-narrative except perhaps in its conclusion. Bata has many surprising adventures, after the manner of a fairy-tale, and at last becomes king of Egypt.

This story is said to belong to the period of the nineteenth dynasty of Egyptian kings, from about B.C. 1327; the dynasty to which belong Rameses II and Menephtah, sometimes supposed to be the Pharaohs of the Oppression and the Exodus.

Famines are not uncommon features of the annals of Egypt; and several are recorded in history; more than once in the Egyptian inscriptions a high official boasts of his services in preserving the people from starvation through famine. No one of the famines mentioned in history can be identified as that referred to in this narrative.

1. Potiphar . . . guard, inserted by the editor from xxxvii. 36, E. In J Joseph's owner is nameless, see verses 2, 3, 7, &c.

[1] An abstract of the tale as given in Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 378 f.

the LORD was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the
3 Egyptian. And his master saw that the LORD was with him, and that the LORD made all that he did to prosper
4 in his hand. And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he ministered unto him: and he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand.
5 And it came to pass from the time that he made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; and the blessing of the LORD was upon all that he had,
6 in the house and in the field. And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand; and he knew not aught *that was* with him, save the bread which he did eat. And Joseph
7 was comely, and well favoured. And it came to pass after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes
8 upon Joseph; and she said, Lie with me. But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my master knoweth not what is with me in the house, and
9 he hath put all that he hath into my hand; there is none greater in this house than I; neither hath he kept back any thing from me but thee, because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin
10 against God? And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to
11 lie by her, *or* to be with her. And it came to pass about this time, that he went into the house to do his

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6. he knew not aught that was with him: R. V. marg., 'with him he knew not.' Cf. verse 23.

8. knoweth not what is with me in the house: R. V. marg., 'knoweth not with me what is, &c.'

9. there is none greater: R. V. marg., 'he is not.'

God: not Yahweh, because Joseph is speaking to one who was not an Israelite.

work; and there was none of the men of the house there within. And she caught him by his garment, 12
saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got him out. And it came to pass, 13
when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth, that she called unto the men of her 14
house, and spake unto them, saying, See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice:
and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my 15
voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled, and got him out. And she laid up his garment by her, 16
until his master came home. And she spake unto him 17
according to these words, saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me: and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice 18
and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled out.
And it came to pass, when his master heard the words 19
of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was kindled. And Joseph's master took him, and put him 20
into the prison, the place where the king's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison. But the 21
LORD was with Joseph, and shewed kindness unto him, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison. And the keeper of the prison committed to 22
Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer of it.
The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that 23
was under his hand, because the LORD was with him; and that which he did, the LORD made it to prosper.

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14. Hebrew. Cf. on xiv. 13.
17. to mock me: a euphemism.

40 [E] And it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker offended their
2 lord the king of Egypt. And Pharaoh was wroth against his two officers, against the chief of the butlers, and
3 against the chief of the bakers. And he put them in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, [R] into

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xl. The Chief Butler and the Chief Baker (E).

xl. 1-4. Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker are placed in the custody of the 'captain of the guard,' who charges Joseph with them.

xl. 5-19. The two prisoners dream dreams, which Joseph interprets to mean that the chief butler will be released and restored to office, and that the chief baker will be hanged. Joseph asks the chief butler to intercede for him.

xl. 20-23. The dreams come true, but the chief butler forgets Joseph.

Sources, &c. This is the continuation of the story in the Elohistic document, in which Joseph is sold to the captain of the guard. It has nothing to do with the previous chapter, the scene is not a prison—'into the prison, the place where Joseph was bound,' in verse 3, and the second part of verse 15, 'and here also,' &c., are editorial additions—but 'his master's house,' verses 3 and 7. The custodian of Pharaoh's officers is not 'the keeper of the prison' of xxxix. 21-23, but 'the captain of the guard'; and there is no reference to the charge on which Joseph was imprisoned in xxxix. 20. Moreover it is the Elohistic Document which is specially interested in dreams, and has already, xxxvii. 5-11, 19, 20, described Joseph as a dreamer.

1. butler . . . baker. The superintendents of the royal cellar and the royal bakehouse were high officials of the Egyptian court, 'Lord High Butler' and 'Lord High Baker.'

2. officers: *lit.* 'eunuchs'; see on xxxvii. 36.

3. in the house of the captain of the guard. Cf. on xxxvii. 36. If we accept the rendering 'captain of the guard,' we should suppose that this official had charge of state prisoners. but if, as seems more likely, we should translate superintendent of the royal kitchen, 'Lord High Cook,' this official would be the superior of the 'Lord High Butler' and the 'Lord High Baker'; and in this capacity would be charged with their custody. State prisoners of high rank have often been placed in custody in the charge of nobles or important officials.

the prison, the place where Joseph was bound. [E] And 4
the captain of the guard charged Joseph with them, and
he ministered unto them: and they continued a season
in ward. And they dreamed a dream both of them, each 5
man his dream, in one night, each man according to the
interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of
the king of Egypt, [R] which were bound in the prison.
[E] And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and 6
saw them, and, behold, they were sad. And he asked 7
Pharaoh's officers that were with him in ward in his
master's house, saying, Wherefore look ye so sadly to-
day? And they said unto him, We have dreamed 8
a dream, and there is none that can interpret it. And
Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong
to God? tell it me, I pray you. And the chief butler 9
told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream,
behold, a vine was before me; and in the vine were 10
three branches: and it was as though it budded, *and* its
blossoms shot forth; *and* the clusters thereof brought
forth ripe grapes: and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand; 11
and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's
cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand. And 12

3[b] (R). **into the prison,** &c., an addition of the editor, to make this chapter read as the continuation of the previous one; cf. on 15[b].

5. which were bound in the prison: (R); cf. previous note.

7. with him in ward: 'in his charge.'

10, 11. In his dream the chief butler sees the whole process of wine-making pass before his eyes in a few seconds. The buds appear upon the vine branches, they unfold into blossoms, and ripen into grapes. He gathers them; presses them forthwith into Pharaoh's cup; they become wine; and, as the royal cup-bearer, he serves the wine to Pharaoh. The ordinary interpretation is that the king drank the fresh grape-juice; but as the butler sees the natural process of the growth of the grapes take place with dream-like swiftness, so probably it is taken for granted that the juice became wine in similar fashion.

Joseph said unto him, This is the interpretation of it:
13 the three branches are three days; within yet three days
shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto
thine office: and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his
hand, after the former manner when thou wast his butler.
14 But have me in thy remembrance when it shall be well
with thee, and shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and
make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of
15 this house: for indeed I was stolen away out of the land
of the Hebrews: [R] and here also have I done nothing
16 that they should put me into the dungeon. [E] When
the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he
said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and, behold,
17 three baskets of white bread were on my head: and in the
uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats
for Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them out of the
18 basket upon my head. And Joseph answered and said,
This is the interpretation thereof: the three baskets are

15^{b} (R). and here also . . . dungeon: an addition of the editor; cf. 3^{b} and 5^{b}.

16. three baskets of white bread. The meaning of the word translated 'white bread' is uncertain. The Syriac and LXX understand it as some kind of baker's goods. A second-century Greek translator[1] renders the phrase 'baskets of palm-branches'; and the rendering 'wickerwork baskets' has also been proposed. The 'all manner of bakemeats' of the next verse simply means 'all kinds of baker's goods,' pastry, cakes, bread, &c., and does not necessarily imply any flesh food. But even so this account of the contents of the top basket points to some such rendering here as 'wickerwork'; 'all kinds of baker's goods' in the top basket does not seem consistent with 'white bread' in all three.

17. the uppermost basket, &c. Cf. previous note. Probably the two lower baskets were empty, so that when the birds had eaten the contents of the top basket there was nothing left, and the chief baker could not perform his official functions. With the helplessness so common in dreams, he cannot frighten the birds away.

[1] Symmachus.

three days; within yet three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off thee. And it 20
came to pass the third day, which was Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast unto all his servants: and he lifted up the head of the chief butler and the head of the chief baker among his servants. And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup 21
into Pharaoh's hand: but he hanged the chief baker: as 22
Joseph had interpreted to them. Yet did not the chief 23
butler remember Joseph, but forgat him.

And it came to pass at the end of two full years, that 41
Pharaoh dreamed: and, behold, he stood by the river.

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19. shall . . . lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree. He would be beheaded, and his corpse exposed.

the birds shall eat thy flesh, as they had eaten the contents of the top basket.

20. Pharaoh's birthday . . . he made a feast. Cf. Herod's birthday feast, Mark vi. 21, and our 'Birthday Honours.'

lifted up the head: had him brought up from the house of the 'captain of the guard' into the royal presence.

23. Cf. Eccles. ix. 13-16.

xli. Joseph at Pharaoh's Court. (Mainly from E, with passages inserted from J and P.)

xli. 1-32 (E)[1]. Pharaoh has a dream which his magicians cannot interpret; the chief butler mentions Joseph, who is sent for, and interprets the dream as a prophecy of famine.

xli. 33-37 (JE). Joseph advises the appointment of an official to provide for the famine. Pharaoh accepts the advice.

xli. 38-40 (E). Joseph is appointed to this office.

xli. 41-45 (J). Joseph is appointed to this office, and married to the daughter of Poti-phera the priest of On.

xli. 46 (P). Joseph, aged thirty, is appointed Pharaoh's vizier.

xli. 47-49 (JE). Joseph gathers corn in seven years of plenty.

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[1] Except 14, 'and they brought him . . . dungeon,' R or J. There are probably other phrases from J or R in 1-32; they are not sufficiently certain or important to be indicated.

2 And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine,
well favoured and fatfleshed; and they fed in the reed-
3 grass. And, behold, seven other kine came up after
them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and
stood by the other kine upon the brink of the river.
4 And the ill favoured and leanfleshed kine did eat up the

xli. 50-52 (E)[1]. Joseph has two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim.

xli. 53-57 (JE). Joseph feeds the people during the seven years of famine.

Sources, &c. It is generally agreed that J as well as E had an account of Joseph's promotion and of the famine; the portions belonging to J are for the most part included in those given above to JE or J, but they cannot be certainly identified; even those marked J are only ascribed to that source with some hesitation[2]. On the other hand there may be fragments of J in the sections marked E. It would seem to follow that J had an account of the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, but this is not certain. If it were so, probably the royal officials in J were cast into the same prison as Joseph, and the story went on very much as in E. It is possible, however, that the occasion of Joseph's release and promotion were quite different in J, and have been omitted for some reason—perhaps because they were not edifying; or perhaps because it was impossible to weave them and the E account into anything like a single consistent story. For the reasons why verse 46 is ascribed to P, see the note on that verse.

1. Pharaoh. Probably neither the author of the original story nor any of the editors of the Pentateuch identified this Pharaoh with any particular king of Egypt. Many theories on the subject have been current at various times. It was once usual to place Joseph's viziership during the period of the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, leaders of a Semitic people who were dominant in Egypt perhaps about B.C. 1800-1600. It was supposed that the Semitic origin of the dynasty would account for the favour shown to the Semite Joseph and his kindred. Prof. Cheyne has proposed Khu-en-Aten, Amenophis IV, *c.* 1400, the monotheistic reformer, to whom many of the Amarna Tablets were addressed, as the Pharaoh of Joseph.

2. river: R. V. marg., 'Heb. *Yeor*, that is, the Nile.'

reed-grass: the word in the Hebrew, *'aḥu*, is an Egyptian word.

[1] Except 50[b], from 'which Asenath,' an addition of an editor.

[2] See especially on verse 45.

seven well favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh awoke.
And he slept and dreamed a second time: and, behold, 5
seven ears of corn came up upon one stalk, rank and
good. And, behold, seven ears, thin and blasted with 6
the east wind, sprung up after them. And the thin ears 7
swallowed up the seven rank and full ears. And Pharaoh
awoke, and, behold, it was a dream. And it came to 8
pass in the morning that his spirit was troubled; and he
sent and called for all the magicians of Egypt, and all
the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream;
but there was none that could interpret them unto
Pharaoh. Then spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh, 9
saying, I do remember my faults this day: Pharaoh was 10
wroth with his servants, and put me in ward in the house
of the captain of the guard, me and the chief baker: and 11
we dreamed a dream in one night, I and he; we dreamed
each man according to the interpretation of his dream.
And there was with us there a young man, an Hebrew, 12
servant to the captain of the guard; and we told him,
and he interpreted to us our dreams; to each man

5, 7. rank: R. V. marg., 'Heb. fat.'

6. east wind. The withering force of the east wind in Palestine is referred to in Ezek. xvii. 10, &c.; in Egypt the south-east wind has a similar effect.

8. Cf. Dan. ii. 1–12, iv. 4–7.

the magicians (R. V. marg., 'sacred scribes') **... the wise men.** The word 'magicians' (*ḥarṭumim*) is only found (*a*) of Egyptians, here and in Exod. vii–x, and (*b*) in Daniel, where its use is due to imitation of the story of Joseph. There is no evidence that it is an Egyptian word; it is probably derived from the Hebrew *ḥeret*, a stylus used for writing on wax-tablets; and so denotes, as R. V. marg. 'scribes,' and especially scribes who studied and copied books of magic. 'Wise men,' like our 'wizard' or 'wise woman,' means here 'wise in magic.' Magicians were a professional class; and magic played a great part in the life of Egypt and Western Asia, as it has done in all periods and nations, and does even with us to-day.

9. I do remember: R. V. marg., 'will make mention of.'

13 according to his dream he did interpret. And it came
to pass, as he interpreted to us, so it was; me he restored
14 unto mine office, and him he hanged. Then Pharaoh
sent and called Joseph, [R] and they brought him hastily
out of the dungeon: [E] and he shaved himself, and
15 changed his raiment, and came in unto Pharaoh. And
Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I have dreamed a dream, and
there is none that can interpret it: and I have heard say
of thee, that when thou hearest a dream thou canst
16 interpret it. And Joseph answered Pharaoh, saying, It
is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace.
17 And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, In my dream, behold,
18 I stood upon the brink of the river: and, behold, there
came up out of the river seven kine, fatfleshed and well
19 favoured; and they fed in the reed-grass: and, behold,
seven other kine came up after them, poor and very ill
favoured and leanfleshed, such as I never saw in all the
20 land of Egypt for badness: and the lean and ill favoured

13. me he restored . . . him he hanged: R. V. marg., 'I was restored . . . and he was hanged.'

14. they brought him hastily out of the dungeon. Either R or a fragment of J; in the main (E) narrative Joseph is in the 'house' of the captain of the guard.

shaved himself. It is not certain whether the shaving refers to the head or the chin. It is often supposed that the Egyptians shaved the head and wore wigs; but, on the other hand, it is stated that they simply kept the hair very short under the wigs; and that the shaving of the head was confined to the priests of the New Empire, B.C. 1530 onwards. But it was the custom at all times in Egypt to shave the hair of the face; on great occasions the nobles often wore artificial beards; these are the beards seen in the pictures on the monuments. Doubtless Joseph shaved his face. If any one prefers to believe that the shaving refers to the head, we might translate 'got himself shaved.'

16. It is not in me: God, &c. It is doubtful whether the Massoretic-Hebrew text as it stands can give this translation. The LXX has, 'An answer cannot be given without God,' which would not commit Joseph to promising to interpret the dream.

kine did eat up the first seven fat kine: and when they 21
had eaten them up, it could not be known that they had
eaten them; but they were still ill favoured, as at the
beginning. So I awoke. And I saw in my dream, and, 22
behold, seven ears came up upon one stalk, full and good:
and, behold, seven ears, withered, thin, *and* blasted with 23
the east wind, sprung up after them: and the thin ears 24
swallowed up the seven good ears: and I told it unto
the magicians; but there was none that could declare it to
me. And Joseph said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pha- 25
raoh is one: what God is about to do he hath declared
unto Pharaoh. The seven good kine are seven years; and 26
the seven good ears are seven years: the dream is one.
And the seven lean and ill favoured kine that came up after 27
them are seven years, and also the seven empty ears blasted
with the east wind; they shall be seven years of famine.
That is the thing which I spake unto Pharaoh: what 28
God is about to do he hath shewed unto Pharaoh. Be- 29
hold, there come seven years of great plenty throughout
all the land of Egypt: and there shall arise after them 30
seven years of famine; and all the plenty shall be forgot-
ten in the land of Egypt; and the famine shall consume
the land; and the plenty shall not be known in the land 31
by reason of that famine which followeth; for it shall be
very grievous. And for that the dream was doubled 32
unto Pharaoh twice, it is because the thing is established

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23. withered. The word[1] so translated is an Aramaic word which is not found elsewhere in the O. T. It is omitted by the LXX and Syriac versions; a comparison with verse 6 shows that it is a corruption of the word[2] for 'springing up.'

25. The dream of Pharaoh is one: the two dreams have the same meaning.

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[1] *Ċeurmoth.* [2] *Ċomeḳoth.*

by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass. [JE]
33 Now therefore let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and
34 wise, and set him over the land of Egypt. Let Pharaoh
do *this*, and let him appoint overseers over the land, and
take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven
35 plenteous years. And let them gather all the food of
these good years that come, and lay up corn under the
hand of Pharaoh for food in the cities, and let them keep
36 it. And the food shall be for a store to the land against
the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of
Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine.
37 And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in
38 the eyes of all his servants. [E] And Pharaoh said unto
his servants, Can we find such a one as this, a man in
39 whom the spirit of God is? And Pharaoh said unto
Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this,
40 there is none so discreet and wise as thou: thou shalt be
over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my
people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater
41 than thou. [J] And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I
42 have set thee over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh
took off his signet ring from his hand, and put it upon

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34. let him . . . take up the fifth part of the land: i. e. of the produce of the land, a double tithe; cf. xlvii. 24–27. In verse 48 Joseph gathers up '*all* the food,' a piece of rhetoric which must come from another source.

38. in whom the spirit of God is. Imitated in Dan. iv. 8, 9, 18, of Daniel 'the master of the magicians.'

40. my house: my court, my government.

be ruled: R. V. marg., 'order themselves, *or*, do homage.' This sudden elevation of an obscure individual is quite in keeping with the customs of oriental despotisms, especially in popular stories. The slave or the wandering stranger of to-day may be the vizier or even the sultan of to-morrow. Indeed, such incidents are found in the folklore of all peoples. Cf. the case of David.

42. took off his signet ring . . . and put it upon Joseph's hand: a token that Joseph was the representative of the king.

Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him 43
to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee: and he set him over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am 44
Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or his foot in all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh called 45
Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On. And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt. [P] And 46

Pharaoh gave him, as it were, an unlimited 'power of attorney'; cf. on xxxviii. 18.

fine linen: R. V. marg., 'cotton,' 'byssus.'

gold chain about his neck. The Egyptian kings are often depicted giving golden neck-ornaments to favoured officials.

43. the second chariot: second best.

Bow the knee: R. V. marg., '*Abrech*, probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning "to kneel."' It has been suggested that the word was borrowed from the Assyrian-Babylonian *abarakku*, the title of a high official; and the theory is supported by reference to the close and frequent intercourse between Egypt and Babylonia, shown by the Amarna Tablets and other records. For the present, however, the meaning of the term *Abrech* in this passage must be considered altogether uncertain. Under these circumstances, of course, the theories are innumerable.

45. Zaphenath-paneah. In Joseph's new position as an Egyptian official he would naturally receive an Egyptian name. Egyptologists are not agreed as to the meaning of the name. In former times it was explained as 'Saviour of the World,' or 'Revealer of Secrets.' Modern explanations are 'Ruler of the Nome (district) Place of Life,' i. e. 'the Nome Sethroides,' 'God speaks and lives,' &c., &c.

Asenath: probably 'Devotee of Nath,' the goddess of war.

Poti-phera. See on Potiphar, xxxvii. 36.

On: Heliopolis, 'on the (E.) edge of the Delta, but outside the Delta proper, not far below the forking of the Nile[1],' the great seat of the worship of the sun-god; and, to use a modern term, the leading Egyptian University for sacred learning.

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[1] Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the
47 land of Egypt. [JE] And in the seven plenteous years
48 the earth brought forth by handfuls. And he gathered up all the food of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of

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46 (P). **Joseph was thirty years old.** The fact that 46^b repeats 45^b shows that they belong to two different sources; and the statement as to Joseph's age suggests the Priestly Document, which must have mentioned Joseph in Egypt; cf. xxxvii. 2. But these statements as to the age of Joseph are not consistent with the main narrative, according to which Benjamin, when his brothers went to Egypt to buy corn, was 'a lad[1],' and 'a child of his old age, a little one[2].' Now, according to xxxvii. 2, Joseph was seventeen when he was sold into Egypt; so that, according to this verse, thirteen years had elapsed since that time. The seven years of plenty and some portion of the years of famine intervened before the brethren came to buy corn; so that at the time when Benjamin is spoken of as 'a little one' Joseph had been more than twenty years in Egypt. Benjamin was born, according to the early tradition[3], some time before Joseph was sold into Egypt; or, according to the Priestly Document[4], before Jacob left Paddan-aram. Hence, if we try to combine xxxvii. 2 and the present verse with the rest of the story, Benjamin was twenty-three or twenty-four, a full-grown man, when he was spoken of as 'a little one.'

48. all the food: a rhetorical hyperbole; cf. verse 34.

laid up the food in the cities. The Egyptian monuments preserve many pictures of the granaries, of the reception and storing of the corn, and of its registration by the scribes or clerks. The 'superintendent of the granaries' was one of the most important members of an Egyptian government; far more so than a modern Minister of Agriculture, because the kings had great estates, the taxes were largely collected in corn, and the government kept great stocks in their granaries. The superintendent of the granaries annually in solemn audience presented the king with a report of the harvests; and if it was satisfactory, 'His Majesty would show special honour to his

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[1] xliii. 8, *na'ar*; cf. xxi. 17. [2] xliv. 20. [3] JE, xxxv. 18. [4] xxxv. 23, 26.

the field, which was round about every city, laid he up in the same. And Joseph laid up corn as the sand of the 49
sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number. [E] And unto Joseph were born two sons 50
before the year of famine came, [R] which Asenath the daughter of Poti-phera priest of On bare unto him. [E] And Joseph called the name of the firstborn Manasseh: 51
For, *said he*, God hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house. And the name of the second 52
called he Ephraim: For God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction. [JE] And the seven years of 53
plenty, that was in the land of Egypt, came to an end. And the seven years of famine began to come, according 54
as Joseph had said: and there was famine in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when 55
all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the

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faithful servant, and in the presence of the monarch he would be anointed and decked with necklets of great value[1].'

49. left numbering. Usually the exact amount of the corn was carefully registered; cf. previous note.

xli. 51, 52. These verses, explained as tribal history, mean that the more ancient tribe of Joseph afterwards became, by division or otherwise, the tribes known in history as Ephraim and Manasseh. Manasseh as the firstborn is the tribe originally the more important. Cf. on xlviii.

51. Manasseh (R. V. marg., 'That is, Making to forget') . . . **God hath made me forget.** There is no satisfactory explanation of the real origin of the name.

52. Ephraim: (R. V. marg., 'From a Hebrew word [PRH] signifying "to be fruitful."') **For God hath made me fruitful,** i. e. 'given me sons.' The meaning 'fruitful' is often accepted, and regarded as the name of the district of Central Palestine. If so, the tribe of Ephraim was the portion of Joseph occupying that district, from which it took its name. If so, the tribe of Ephraim was formed after the conquest of Canaan; cf. on xlix. 22.

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[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 108; cf. pp. 122, 433.

Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do.
56 And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and
Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the
Egyptians; and the famine was sore in the land of
57 Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for
to buy corn; because the famine was sore in all the earth.
42 Now Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, and Jacob
said unto his sons, Why do ye look one upon another?
2 And he said, Behold, I have heard that there is corn in
Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence;
3 that we may live, and not die. And Joseph's ten
4 brethren went down to buy corn from Egypt. But
Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his
brethren; for he said, Lest peradventure mischief befall
5 him. And the sons of Israel came to buy among those
that came: for the famine was in the land of Canaan.

xlii. THE FIRST MEETING OF JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN (JE).

xlii. 1-7 (JE). The brethren come to Joseph to buy corn.

xlii. 8-26 (E). Joseph treats them as spies, cross-questions them, and elicits the fact that they have a younger brother. He lets them go and take corn for their families on condition that they bring their younger brother to him. He keeps Simeon as a hostage.

xlii. 27, 28^{a1} (J). On the way home one of them finds his money in his sack.

xlii. 28^{b2}–37 (E). They arrive at home, tell Jacob what has happened, and find their money in their sacks; he refuses to send Benjamin.

xlii. 38 (J). He [Israel] refuses to send his son [Benjamin].

Sources, &c. The main narrative is still from the Elohistic Document; note the prominence of Reuben, verses 22, 37, as in xxxvii. 21, 22. Only fragments of J's story are preserved, but judging from ch. xliii (J), the J version of this portion of the narrative was very similar to that of E.

1. saw: heard.

5. Israel. The name probably marks the presence of a fragment of J; cf. p. 22.

[1] As far as 'another.' [2] From 'saying.'

And Joseph was the governor over the land; he it was 6
that sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's
brethren came, and bowed down themselves to him with
their faces to the earth. And Joseph saw his brethren, 7
and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them,
and spake roughly with them; and he said unto them,
Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of
Canaan to buy food. [E] And Joseph knew his brethren, 8
but they knew not him. And Joseph remembered the 9
dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them,
Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are
come. And they said unto him, Nay, my lord, but to 10
buy food are thy servants come. We are all one man's 11
sons; we are true men, thy servants are no spies. And 12
he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the

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6. governor. The word used here, *shallit* (from the same root as *sultan*), is rare in Hebrew, and chiefly found in late post-Exilic literature. It is probably a mere coincidence that Josephus gives *Salatis* as the name of the first of the Hyksos[1] kings.

9. to see the nakedness of the land. Egypt continually suffered from the raids of the Bedouin on its desert frontier. It was not an unnatural suspicion that this group of tribesmen, like the spies whom Moses sent into Canaan, had come to find out how they and their kinsfolk might make a successful incursion into the border provinces. Joseph felt that the distress he was causing his brethren was a just punishment for their behaviour to him. This charge, moreover, gave him an opportunity of learning about his family, and of sending for Benjamin. The question is often asked—'Why did not Joseph communicate with his kinsfolk before? He had now been a great official for more than seven years[2].' Such conduct, however, is often recorded; the successful emigrant does not write home for many years, and yet if a chance opportunity comes, he is found to be full of interest and affection for the old home. Moreover, if Joseph had written or sent to Jacob, it would have spoiled the story.

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[1] See p. 354. [2] xli. 48.

13 land ye are come. And they said, We thy servants are
twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of
Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our
14 father, and one is not. And Joseph said unto them,
That is it that I spake unto you, saying, Ye are spies:
15 hereby ye shall be proved: by the life of Pharaoh ye
shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother
16 come hither. Send one of you, and let him fetch your
brother, and ye shall be bound, that your words may be
proved, whether there be truth in you: or else by the
17 life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies. And he put them all
18 together into ward three days. And Joseph said unto
them the third day, This do, and live; for I fear God:
19 if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be bound in
your prison house; but go ye, carry corn for the famine
20 of your houses: and bring your youngest brother unto
me; so shall your words be verified, and ye shall not die.
21 And they did so. And they said one to another, We
are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw
the distress of his soul, when he besought us, and we
would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.
22 And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto
you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would
not hear? therefore also, behold, his blood is required.

15. hereby ye shall be proved. If they had been spies they would probably have trumped up some false tale as to who and what they were.

by the life of Pharaoh. The kings of Egypt were reckoned as gods even in their lifetime; it was natural therefore to swear by them.

17. He gave them a taste of what he had suffered.

20. And they did so. These words make no sense where they stand; they are perhaps a fragment which has got into the wrong place; cf. 25[b].

21. his soul. See on xii. 13.

22. Cf. xxxvii. 22.

And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for 23
there was an interpreter between them. And he turned 24
himself about from them, and wept; and he returned
to them, and spake to them, and took Simeon from
among them, and bound him before their eyes. Then 25
Joseph commanded to fill their vessels with corn, and to
restore every man's money into his sack, and to give
them provision for the way: and thus was it done unto
them. And they laded their asses with their corn, and 26
departed thence. [J] And as one of them opened his 27
sack to give his ass provender in the lodging place, he
espied his money; and, behold, it was in the mouth of
his sack. And he said unto his brethren, My money is 28
restored; and, lo, it is even in my sack: and their
heart failed them, and they turned trembling one to
another, [E] saying, What is this that God hath done
unto us? And they came unto Jacob their father unto 29
the land of Canaan, and told him all that had befallen
them; saying, The man, the lord of the land, spake 30
roughly with us, and took us for spies of the country.
And we said unto him, We are true men; we are no 31

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24. Simeon: the second brother, the most important after Reuben the firstborn. Reuben is probably spared on account of his friendly behaviour to Joseph, made known to Joseph by the conversation he has just overheard.

25. sack. It is one of the indications that this narrative is compiled from two sources that the word for 'sack' here (*saq*) is different from that used (*amtahath*) in 27 b, 28. In 27 a, however, *saq* is used probably through an alteration of an editor or copyist.

27 (J). **the lodging place:** perhaps merely camping-ground; or else a caravanserai, or enclosure with rooms for travellers and lairs for beasts.

28 (J). **their heart failed them.** In view of Joseph's harshness they would naturally place the worst interpretation on the return of the money. In E the money is not found till they get home.

32 spies: we be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one is
not, and the youngest is this day with our father in the
33 land of Canaan. And the man, the lord of the land,
said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are true men;
leave one of your brethren with me, and take *corn for*
34 the famine of your houses, and go your way: and bring
your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that
ye are no spies, but that ye are true men: so will I
deliver you your brother, and ye shall traffick in the land.
35 And it came to pass as they emptied their sacks, that,
behold, every man's bundle of money was in his sack:
and when they and their father saw their bundles of
36 money, they were afraid. And Jacob their father said
unto them, Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph
is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin
37 away: all these things are against me. And Reuben
spake unto his father, saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring
him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will
38 bring him to thee again. [J] And he said, My son shall
not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he
only is left: if mischief befall him by the way in the
which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with
sorrow to the grave.

43 And the famine was sore in the land. And it came to

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35 (E). **sack:** *saq* as in verse 25, which see, and cf. 28.
36. against: R. V. marg., 'upon.'
38. the grave. See on xxxvii. 35.

xliii. THE BRETHREN GO TO EGYPT A SECOND TIME (J[1]).

xliii. 1–13 (J). Judah induces Israel to let them go down again and take Benjamin.

xliii. 14 (E[1]). [Jacob's] prayer that his sons may be spared.

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[1] Chiefly.

pass, when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a little food. And Judah spake unto him, 3
saying, The man did solemnly protest unto us, saying, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you. If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will go down 4
and buy thee food: but if thou wilt not send him, we 5
will not go down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be with you. And 6
Israel said, Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me, as to tell the man whether ye had yet a brother? And they said, 7
The man asked straitly concerning ourselves, and concerning our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive? have ye *another* brother? and we told him according to the tenor of these words: could we in any wise know that he would say, Bring your brother down? And 8
Judah said unto Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may live, and not die, both we, and thou, and also our little ones. I will be 9

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xliii. 15-24[a1] (J). They go to Egypt, and explain to Joseph's steward about the money in their sacks.

xliii. 24[b2] (E). Simeon is released.

xliii. 25-34 (J). Joseph interviews them. He is overcome with emotion at seeing Benjamin. He feasts his brethren.

Sources, &c. The chapter is mainly J, but apparently E had a very similar narrative. If the view is accepted that the name Benjamin arose after the conquest of Canaan, we must suppose that the name Benjamin here has replaced another possibly somewhat similar name. If the story originally dealt with a Joseph and his younger brother, the younger brother would necessarily become Benjamin, when the Joseph was identified with the ancestor of the tribe.

3. Judah. Here, as in the previous (J) section of this narrative, Judah is the prominent figure; cf. xxxvii. 26.

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[1] As far as 'money.' [2] From 'And he brought.'

surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if
I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then
10 let me bear the blame for ever: for except we had
lingered, surely we had now returned a second time.
11 And their father Israel said unto them, If it be so now,
do this; take of the choice fruits of the land in your
vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little balm,
and a little honey, spicery and myrrh, nuts, and almonds:
12 and take double money in your hand; and the money
that was returned in the mouth of your sacks carry again
13 in your hand; peradventure it was an oversight: take
also your brother, and arise, go again unto the man: [E]
14 and God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that
he may release unto you your other brother and Ben-
jamin. And if I be bereaved of my children, I am
bereaved.

15 [J] And the men took that present, and they took
double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and rose
up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before Joseph.
16 And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to
the steward of his house, Bring the men into the house,
and slay, and make ready; for the men shall dine with
17 me at noon. And the man did as Joseph bade; and
18 the man brought the men into Joseph's house. And the
men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's
house; and they said, Because of the money that was
returned in our sacks at the first time are we brought in;

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9. then let me bear the blame for ever: R. V. marg., 'Heb. I shall have sinned against thee for ever.'

11. balm . . . spicery . . . myrrh. See on xxxvii. 25.

nuts: R. V. marg., 'That is, *pistachio nuts*.'

14 (E). **Almighty:** *Shaddai* (see on xvii. 1). As *Shaddai* is not used by either J or E, the phrase *El Shaddai* has been substituted by an editor or copyist for *Elohim*, or perhaps *El*.

that he may seek occasion against us, and fall upon us, and take us for bondmen, and our asses. And they 19
came near to the steward of Joseph's house, and they
spake unto him at the door of the house, and said, Oh 20
my lord, we came indeed down at the first time to buy
food: and it came to pass, when we came to the lodging 21
place, that we opened our sacks, and, behold, every man's
money was in the mouth of his sack, our money in full
weight: and we have brought it again in our hand.
And other money have we brought down in our hand to 22
buy food: we know not who put our money in our sacks.
And he said, Peace be to you, fear not: your God, 23
and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in
your sacks: I had your money. [E] And he brought
Simeon out unto them. [J] And the man brought the 24
men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they
washed their feet; and he gave their asses provender.
And they made ready the present against Joseph came 25
at noon: for they heard that they should eat bread there.
And when Joseph came home, they brought him the 26
present which was in their hand into the house, and
bowed down themselves to him to the earth. And he 27
asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well,
the old man of whom ye spake? Is he yet alive? And 28
they said, Thy servant our father is well, he is yet alive.
And they bowed the head, and made obeisance. And 29
he lifted up his eyes, and saw Benjamin his brother, his
mother's son, and said, Is this your youngest brother, of
whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be gracious

18. seek occasion against us. R.V. marg., 'Heb. roll himself upon us.'

take us for bondmen. According to the ancient Israelite law, Exod. xxii. 2 f., the thief who could not make sufficient compensation was to be sold as a slave.

30 unto thee, my son. And Joseph made haste; for his
bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought where
to weep; and he entered into his chamber, and wept
31 there. And he washed his face, and came out; and he
32 refrained himself, and said, Set on bread. And they set
on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and
for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves:
because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the
Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians.
33 And they sat before him, the firstborn according to his
birthright, and the youngest according to his youth: and
34 the men marvelled one with another. And he took *and*
sent messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's
mess was five times so much as any of theirs. And they
drank, and were merry with him.

44 And he commanded the steward of his house, saying,

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32. the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews. In later times the Jews would not eat with foreigners, on account of the laws as to ceremonial cleanness and uncleanness; and there is evidence that similar customs existed amongst the Egyptians.

33. the firstborn according to his birthright, &c.: i.e. Joseph had them arranged in order of seniority.

34. he took and sent **messes:** R.V. marg., 'messes were taken.' 'Mess' = dish or portion.

five times so much: a mark of distinction. Obviously Joseph neither expected Benjamin to eat five times too much, nor did he provide the other brothers with too little.

were merry: R.V. marg., 'Heb. drank largely.'

xliv, xlv. THE RECONCILIATION OF JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN (JE).

xliv. (J.) At Joseph's bidding his steward hides a silver cup in Benjamin's sack. The brethren start home, are overtaken, and their sacks searched. Joseph proposes to keep Benjamin as a slave, and release the rest. Judah offers himself as a substitute.

xlv. (JE.) Joseph makes himself known to his brethren. At Pharaoh's command he sends them to fetch Jacob and their families. They return and tell Jacob.

Sources, &c. The interchange of the names Jacob and Israel,

Fill the men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in his sack's mouth. And put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of 2
the youngest, and his corn money. And he did according to the word that Joseph had spoken. As soon as 3
the morning was light, the men were sent away, they and their asses. *And* when they were gone out of the 4
city, and were not yet far off, Joseph said unto his steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for good? Is not this it in which my lord 5
drinketh, and whereby he indeed divineth? ye have done evil in so doing. And he overtook them, and he 6
spake unto them these words. And they said unto him, 7
Wherefore speaketh my lord such words as these? God forbid that thy servants should do such a thing. Behold, 8
the money, which we found in our sacks' mouths, we brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of thy lord's house silver or gold? With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, let 9
him die, and we also will be my lord's bondmen. And 10

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and other features, show that ch. xlv is combined from the two sources; but there is no general agreement as to the details of the narrative. It is difficult to reconcile Joseph's intense love for Benjamin with the cruel expedient of making him appear guilty of theft, and threatening him with slavery or even death. Apparently the narrator has in some measure sacrificed the character of his hero to the dramatic necessities of the story.

4. the city. There is nothing to show which city is meant.

good: the feasting and the generous provision of corn, verse 1.

5. whereby he . . . divineth. The narrator does not himself say that Joseph divined by means of a cup, but he passes over the statement without comment; cf. also verse 15 and p. 296. Divination by means of a cup was a branch of ancient magic, and consisted in throwing fragments of gold and silver into a cup, and drawing conclusions from the arrangement into which they fell. We might compare telling fortunes by means of tea-leaves or coffee-grounds in a cup.

he said, Now also let it be according unto your words:
he with whom it is found shall be my bondman; and ye
11 shall be blameless. Then they hasted, and took down
every man his sack to the ground, and opened every
12 man his sack. And he searched, *and* began at the
eldest, and left at the youngest: and the cup was found
13 in Benjamin's sack. Then they rent their clothes, and
14 laded every man his ass, and returned to the city. And
Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; and he
was yet there: and they fell before him on the ground.
15 And Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye
have done? know ye not that such a man as I can in-
16 deed divine? And Judah said, What shall we say unto
my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear
ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy ser-
vants: behold, we are my lord's bondmen, both we, and
17 he also in whose hand the cup is found. And he said,
God forbid that I should do so: the man in whose hand
the cup is found, he shall be my bondman; but as for
you, get you up in peace unto your father.
18 Then Judah came near unto him, and said, Oh my
lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my
lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn against thy
19 servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh. My lord asked
20 his servants, saying, Have ye a father, or a brother? And
we said unto my lord, We have a father, an old man,
and a child of his old age, a little one; and his brother

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16. God hath found out the iniquity, &c.: i.e. the theft of the cup of which Judah supposes Benjamin guilty. According to primitive ideas, the sin of one member involved the whole family; cf. the case of Achan. 'God' because a Gentile is addressed.

17. There seems a suggestion here that Joseph thought of keeping his favourite brother with him, without making himself known to the rest of his family.

is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Bring 21
him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon him. And we said unto my lord, The lad cannot leave his 22
father: for if he should leave his father, his father would die. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Except your 23
youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my face no more. And it came to pass when we came up 24
unto thy servant my father, we told him the words of my lord. And our father said, Go again, buy us a little 25
food. And we said, We cannot go down: if our 26
youngest brother be with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the man's face, except our youngest brother be with us. And thy servant my father said 27
unto us, Ye know that my wife bare me two sons: and 28
the one went out from me, and I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I have not seen him since: and if ye 29
take this one also from me, and mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, 30
and the lad be not with us; seeing that his life is bound up in the lad's life; it shall come to pass, when he seeth 31
that the lad is not *with us*, that he will die: and thy servants shall bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to the grave. For thy servant 32

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20. his brother is dead. A most dramatic touch; the brother whose death was announced with such certainty was the man to whom these words were addressed. Judah had no positive evidence that Joseph was dead, but assumed that he could not be alive because nothing had been heard of him for so long.

29. sorrow: R. V. marg., 'Heb. evil.'

grave. See on xxxvii. 35.

30. his life is bound up in the lad's life: a far better rendering than R. V. marg., 'his soul is knit with the lad's soul.' Cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 1.

became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If
I bring him not unto thee, then shall I bear the blame
33 to my father for ever. Now therefore, let thy servant,
I pray thee, abide instead of the lad a bondman to my
34 lord; and let the lad go up with his brethren. For how
shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me?
lest I see the evil that shall come on my father.

45 [JE] Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all
them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man
to go out from me. And there stood no man with him,
while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren.
2 And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard, and the
3 house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his
brethren, I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? And
his brethren could not answer him; for they were trou-
4 bled at his presence. And Joseph said unto his brethren,
Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near.
And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold
5 into Egypt. And now be not grieved, nor angry with
yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me
6 before you to preserve life. For these two years hath
the famine been in the land: and there are yet five
years, in the which there shall be neither plowing nor
7 harvest. And God sent me before you to preserve you
a remnant in the earth, and to save you alive by a great

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2. wept aloud: R. V. marg., 'Heb. gave forth his voice in weeping.'

the Egyptians heard will come from J, cf. xliii. 32; the parallel phrase, **the house of Pharaoh heard**, from E. The 'Egyptians' will be the Egyptian members of Joseph's household. The statement that 'the house of Pharaoh heard' does not fit in here, and no doubt stood originally in a different context.

7. to preserve you a remnant: rather, 'that you might remain.'

by a great deliverance: R. V. marg., 'to be a great company that escape.'

deliverance. So now it was not you that sent me hither, 8
but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh,
and lord of all his house, and ruler over all the land of
Egypt. Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto 9
him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord
of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not: and thou 10
shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near
unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's chil-
dren, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou
hast: and there will I nourish thee; for there are yet 11
five years of famine; lest thou come to poverty, thou,
and thy household, and all that thou hast. And, behold, 12
your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that
it is my mouth that speaketh unto you. And ye shall 13
tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye
have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father
hither. And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, 14
and wept; and Benjamin wept upon his neck. And he 15
kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after
that his brethren talked with him.

And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, 16
saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it pleased Pha-
raoh well, and his servants. And Pharaoh said unto 17
Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye; lade your

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8. a father to Pharaoh. If this is figurative, we may compare the words of the king of Israel to the dying prophet, 'My father,' 2 Kings xiii. 14; and the phrase applied by Artaxerxes to Haman, 'who . . . is a second father unto us,' Rest of Esth. xiii. 6, R. V. But, according to some, 'a father to Pharaoh' is an Egyptian title of a high official.

10. Goshen: the district east of the Delta. Goshen may be the equivalent of the Egyptian *Kesn*, which is found for part of this district, or for one of its cities. The LXX has here 'the land of Gesem in Arabia,' where, however, Arabia is probably the name of a district in Egypt.

18 beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; and
take your father and your households, and come unto
me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt,
19 and ye shall eat the fat of the land. Now thou art com-
manded, this do ye; take you wagons out of the land of
Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring
20 your father, and come. Also regard not your stuff; for
21 the good of all the land of Egypt is yours. And the
sons of Israel did so: and Joseph gave them wagons,
according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and gave
22 them provision for the way. To all of them he gave
each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave
three hundred pieces of silver, and five changes of rai-
23 ment. And to his father he sent after this manner; ten
asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she-
asses laden with corn and bread and victual for his father
24 by the way. So he sent his brethren away, and they
departed: and he said unto them, See that ye fall not out
25 by the way. And they went up out of Egypt, and came
26 into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father. And
they told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and he is ruler
over all the land of Egypt. And his heart fainted, for

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19. Now thou art commanded, this do ye. The change from 'thou' to 'ye' is awkward. Probably 'now thou art commanded' concludes Pharaoh's instructions to Joseph; while 'This do ye,' &c., is Joseph's charge to his brethren.

wagons: *'agalah*. The Egyptians had a wagon (*'agolt'e*) drawn by oxen; and on the Assyrian monuments we see captive women and children carried in a kind of wagon.

20. stuff: property other than flocks and herds.

good: wealth.

22. three hundred pieces of silver: i. e. shekels, the price of ten slaves; cf. on xx. 16.

23. the good things of Egypt. Probably rich clothing, jewels, ivory, &c., &c.

26. fainted: *lit.* 'went cold.'

he believed them not. And they told him all the words 27
of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he
saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the
spirit of Jacob their father revived: and Israel said, It is 28
enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see
him before I die.

And Israel took his journey with all that he had, and **46**
came to Beer-sheba, and offered sacrifices unto the God
of his father Isaac. And God spake unto Israel in the 2
visions of the night, and said, Jacob, Jacob. And he
said, Here am I. And he said, I am God, the God of 3
thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will
there make of thee a great nation: I will go down with 4
thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up
again: and Joseph shall put his hand upon thine eyes.
And Jacob rose up from Beer-sheba: and the sons of 5
Israel carried Jacob their father, and their little ones,
and their wives, in the wagons which Pharaoh had sent

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xlvi. 1–7. THE MIGRATION OF ISRAEL TO EGYPT. (Compiled from J, E, and P.)

xlvi. 1–4. Jacob sacrifices at Beer-sheba to the God of Isaac, who appears to him and renews the Promise.

xlvi. 5. Jacob and his family continue their journey.

xlvi. 6, 7 (P). Jacob and his family go down to Egypt.

1. Israel . . . with all that he had. 'Israel' points to J; 'with all that he had' seems inconsistent with xlv. 20, which may be E.

Beer-sheba. As far as our information goes, Jacob was living near Hebron, xxxvii. 14; and Beer-sheba was on the way from Hebron to Egypt.

the God of his father Isaac. Cf. xxxi. 53; Isaac was specially connected with Beer-sheba.

4. bring thee up again. 'Thee' is the nation, Israel, not the individual patriarch.

put his hand upon thine eyes. Joseph would close his eyes when he died.

6 to carry him. [P] And they took their cattle, and their goods, which they had gotten in the land of Canaan, and
7 came into Egypt, Jacob, and all his seed with him: his sons, and his sons' sons with him, his daughters, and his sons' daughters, and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.
8 And these are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben,
9 Jacob's firstborn. And the sons of Reuben; Hanoch,
10 and Pallu, and Hezron, and Carmi. And the sons of

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7. daughters. Cf. xxxvii. 35.

xlvi. 8–27. THE CLANS OF ISRAEL (P).

A. *Leah.* xlvi. 8, 9, Reuben; 10, Simeon; 11, Levi; 12, Judah; 13, Issachar; 14, Zebulun; 15, Dinah.

B. *Zilpah.* xlvi. 16, Gad; 17, Asher.

C. *Rachel.* xlvi. 20, Joseph; 21, Benjamin.

D. *Bilhah.* xlvi. 23, Dan; 24, Naphtali.

Sources, &c. This section is commonly regarded as a late addition to P. For the Twelve Tribes see on xxxv. 22 ff. This passage also occurs (*a*) in a somewhat expanded form as Num. xxvi. 1–51, Levi being omitted; and (*b*) in a still more expanded form as 1 Chron. ii–viii. The Genesis passage may be an abstract of the chapters of Chronicles. The 'sons' of the various patriarchs are the subdivisions or clans of the tribes. The lists of this passage as given in the LXX differ in some respects from the Hebrew.

Unless anything is stated to the contrary, it may be understood that the clan-names given here occur also in the Numbers and Chronicles passages and nowhere else. Where nothing is said as to the derivation of a name, or the habitat of a clan, there is no certain information on the subject.

xlvi. 9–11. These verses also occur as Exod. vi. 14–16.

9. Reuben.

Hanoch. See on xxv. 4.

Hezron = 'enclosure'; in verse 12 a clan of Judah (Perez); cf. on xxxvi. 5. The clan is probably named after the city Hezron, in the south of Judah, Joshua xv. 3, 25.

Carmi: perhaps the inhabitants of a town Cerem = 'vineyard.' In the LXX of Joshua xv. 59 there is a town 'Cerem' in Judah, and in Neh. iii. 14, and Jer. vi. 1, a town 'Beth-haccerem' in Judah. Possibly a town Cerem was occupied at one time by

Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. 11 And the sons of Levi; Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. 12 And the sons of Judah; Er, and Onan, and Shelah, and Perez, and Zerah: but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. And the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul. 13 And the sons of Issachar; Tola, and Puvah,

Judah, and at another by Reuben. Cf. above on Hezron. These and other names in 'i' are gentilic, 'Carmites,' &c.

10. Simeon.

Jemuel: in Num. xxvi. 12, 1 Chron. iv. 24, 'Nemuel'; in Num. xxvi. 9 Nemuel is a clan of Reuben.

Jamin = 'right hand' or 'southern'; cf. on Benjamin, xxxv. 18. As the Simeonite cities lay in the extreme south of Palestine, 'Jamin' is a suitable name for a division of Simeon. In 1 Chron. ii. 27 Jamin is a division of the Judahite clan Hezron, cf. on xxxvi. 5; and in Neh. viii. 7 the name of a priest.

Ohad: omitted in Numbers and Chronicles; probably an accidental repetition of the following Zohar.

Jachin: perhaps a contraction of Jehoiachin or Jeconiah = 'Yahweh establishes'; also the name of one of the pillars in Solomon's temple; and of a priest, and of a priestly family after the Captivity. The corresponding name in 1 Chron. iv. 24 is 'Jarib.'

Zohar: in Num. xxvi. 13, 1 Chron. iv. 24, 'Zerah.' See on xxiii. 8, xxxvi. 17.

Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman. Cf. on xxxvi. 37, an intimation that one of the clans of Simeon contained Canaanite elements.

11. sons of Levi. These clans are frequently mentioned.

Gershon: in 1 Chron. vi. 16 'Gershom'; probably identical with Gershom the son of Moses, Exod. ii. 22; i. e. the priestly family of Gershom originally traced its descent to Moses; but later on the family were reckoned, not as priests, but as Levites, and were styled a family of Levi.

12. Judah. See on xxxviii.

Hezron. See on verse 9.

Hamul: perhaps identical with Hamuel, a division of the Simeonite clan Shaul, 1 Chron. iv. 26; see on Gen. xxxvi. 5.

13. Issachar.

Tola = 'crimson worm.' Probably the judge Tola, the son of Puah, of the tribe of Issachar, Judges x. 1, is a personification of this clan. Cf. next note.

Puvah: in 1 Chron. vii. 1 'Puah,' perhaps a plant from which

14 and Iob, and Shimron. And the sons of Zebulun;
15 Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel. These are the sons of
Leah, which she bare unto Jacob in Paddan-aram, with
his daughter Dinah: all the souls of his sons and his
16 daughters were thirty and three. And the sons of Gad;
Ziphion, and Haggi, Shuni, and Ezbon, Eri, and Arodi,
17 and Areli. And the sons of Asher; Imnah, and Ishvah,
and Ishvi, and Beriah, and Serah their sister: and the

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a red dye was obtained. Puah the father of Tola, Judges x. 1, is probably a personification of this clan. Cf. previous note.

Iob: in 1 Chron. vii. 1, Num. xxvi. 24, 'Jashub.'

Shimron: in Joshua xix. 15 a town in Zebulun; cf. on Hezron, verse 9.

14. Zebulun. There is no enumeration of the 'sons' of Zebulun in 1 Chron. ii-viii.

Elon. Cf. xxvi. 34. The judge Elon the Zebulonite, Judges xii. 11, may be a personification of this clan. There was a town Elon in Dan, Joshua xix. 43.

15. thirty and three. The names of the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons in verses 9-14 amount to thirty-*four*, perhaps Dinah in verse 12 is an addition. According to verse 8 the names are those of persons 'which came into Egypt'; but, as verse 12 tells us, 'Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan.' Perhaps we should omit Er and Onan, and include Jacob and Dinah.

16. the sons of Gad in 1 Chron. v. 11-17 are quite different from those enumerated here.

Ziphion: in Num. xxvi. 15 'Zephon,' 'northern,' probably identical with the Gadite city Zaphon, Joshua xiii. 27. Cf. also 'Baal-zephon,' Exod. xiv. 2, and 'Zepho,' Gen. xxxvi. 11.

Haggi = 'the festive,' i.e. 'born on a feast-day'; but perhaps a contraction of 'Haggiah' = 'Yahweh is my feast,' a division of the Levite clan Merari.

Ezbon: in Num. xxvi. 16 'Ozni'; in 1 Chron. vii. 7 Ezbon is a division of the clan Bela of Benjamin; cf. on xxxvi. 5.

Eri: probably identical with 'Iri,' a division of the clan Bela, 1 Chron. vii. 7; cf. previous note.

Arodi: i.e. 'Arodite'; in Num. xxvi. 17 'Arod.'

17. Asher.

Ishvi: omitted in Numbers; it is probably an accidental repetition of 'Ishvah.'

Beriah: in 1 Chron. vii. 23 a clan of Ephraim; in 1 Chron. viii.

sons of Beriah; Heber, and Malchiel. These are the 18
sons of Zilpah, which Laban gave to Leah his daughter,
and these she bare unto Jacob, even sixteen souls. The 19
sons of Rachel Jacob's wife; Joseph and Benjamin.
And unto Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Man- 20
asseh and Ephraim, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-
phera priest of On bare unto him. And the sons of 21
Benjamin; Bela, and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and
Naaman, Ehi, and Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim, and
Ard. These are the sons of Rachel, which were born to 22
Jacob: all the souls were fourteen. And the sons of 23
Dan; Hushim. And the sons of Naphtali; Jahzeel, 24

13, 16 of Benjamin; in 1 Chron. xxiii. 10, 11 of Levi; cf. on xxxvi. 5.

Serah. The Hebrew consonants are different from those in Sarah, the wife of Abraham.

Heber = 'ally'; in 1 Chron. iv. 18 a clan of Judah, and in 1 Chron. viii. 17 of Benjamin. The 'Heber' of the A. V. of 1 Chron. v. 13, viii. 22 is spelt differently in the Hebrew; the latter is the same name as the 'Eber' of Gen. x. 21, and is the origin of our word 'Hebrew.'

Malchiel = 'God is King.'

20. Joseph. See on xli. 50 ff.

21. Benjamin.

Becher = 'first-born' or 'camel.'

Ashbel: perhaps a corruption of 'Ishbaal,' 'Man of Baal'; cf. 2 Sam. xx. 1.

Gera: perhaps connected with 'ger,' 'resident alien.' In the corrupt and obscure passage 1 Chron. viii. 1–8, the name occurs three times, twice for 'sons' of Bela. Cf. Judges iii. 15; 2 Sam. xvi. 5.

Naaman = 'pleasant'; cf. Naamah, Naomi, and 2 Kings v. 1.

Ehi: in Num. xxvi. 38 'Ahiram'; perhaps the same as Ehud, 1 Chron. vii. 10, viii. 6.

Rosh = 'head': not in Numbers or Chronicles.

Muppim: in Num. xxvi. 39 'Shephupham'; in 1 Chron. vii. 12 'Shuppim.'

Huppim: in Num. xxvi. 39 'Hupham.'

Ard: in 1 Chron. viii. 3 'Addar.'

23. Dan.

Hushim: in Num. xxvi. 42 'Shuham.' In 1 Chron. vii. 12,

25 and Guni, and Jezer, and Shillem. These are the sons
of Bilhah, which Laban gave unto Rachel his daughter,
and these she bare unto Jacob: all the souls were seven.
26 All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which
came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the
27 souls were threescore and six; and the sons of Joseph,
which were born to him in Egypt, were two souls: all
the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt,
were threescore and ten.

28 [J] And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to

viii. 8 a clan of Benjamin. There is no list of the 'sons' of Dan in 1 Chron. ii–viii.

24. Naphtali.

Jahzeel = 'God divides'; in 1 Chron. vii. 13 'Jahziel.'

Guni: in 1 Chron. v. 15 a clan of Gad.

Shillem: in 1 Chron. vii. 13 'Shallum.'

26. the souls that came with Jacob: R. V. marg., 'souls belonging to Jacob that came.'

26, 27. threescore and six . . . threescore and ten. If we add the figures in verses 15, 18, 22, 25, we get 33 + 16 + 14 + 7 = 70. No doubt this was the original number, and the names were selected to make seventy as a sacred number. But probably we should add Jacob, and omit Dinah. Then the sons of Leah are thirty-two, double the sons of the handmaid Zilpah, sixteen; and the sons of Rachel, fourteen, double the sons of the handmaid Bilhah, seven[1]. The 'sixty-six' is a correction of an editor who omitted Er and Onan, because they never came to Egypt, and Ephraim and Manasseh, because they were born in Egypt. The LXX of verse 27, followed by Acts vii. 14, has seventy-five, a number obtained by adding three grandsons and two great-grandsons of Joseph in verse 20.

xlvi. 28–xlvii. 12. ISRAEL IN GOSHEN (J and P).

xlvi. 28–xlvii. 4, 6[b2] (J). Joseph meets Israel; he introduces five of the brethren to Pharaoh; they obtain from the king permission to settle in Goshen, and the superintendentship of the royal cattle.

xlvii. 5, 6[a3] 7–11 (P). [Jacob and his sons come to Joseph in

[1] So Dillmann. [2] From 'in the land of Goshen.'
[3] As far as 'brethren to dwell.'

shew the way before him unto Goshen; and they came
into the land of Goshen. And Joseph made ready his 29
chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen;
and he presented himself unto him, and fell on his neck,
and wept on his neck a good while. And Israel said 30
unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face,
that thou art yet alive. And Joseph said unto his breth- 31
ren, and unto his father's house, I will go up, and tell
Pharaoh, and will say unto him, My brethren, and my
father's house, which were in the land of Canaan, are
come unto me; and the men are shepherds, for they 32
have been keepers of cattle; and they have brought
their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have.
And it shall come to pass, when Pharaoh shall call you, 33
and shall say, What is your occupation? that ye shall 34
say, Thy servants have been keepers of cattle from our
youth even until now, both we, and our fathers: that ye
may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is
an abomination unto the Egyptians.

Egypt[1].] Joseph introduces Jacob to Pharaoh. Jacob, at the age of 130, blesses Pharaoh. Joseph settles Jacob and his family in the land of Rameses.

28. to shew the way before him unto Goshen. This English phrase is presumably intended to mean 'to go before him, and show him the way,' &c.; but the Hebrew can hardly mean this. The text is probably corrupt. The LXX has 'to meet him at[2] Heroonpolis in[3] the land of Rameses.' Heroonpolis was perhaps got by reading the Hebrew word rendered 'show the way,' *horoth*, as a proper name. Heroonpolis is Pithom to the east of Goshen. With this reading the verse would mean that Israel sent Judah to arrange that Joseph should meet him. The Samaritan-Hebrew text and the Syriac version have a reading[4], 'to appear before him,' which would give a similar sense.

32. cattle[5]: a comprehensive term including oxen, sheep, goats, &c.

34. every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.

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[1] See notes on xlvii. 5 ff. [2] *Kath'*. [3] *Eis*.
[4] *Hera'oth* for *horoth*. [5] *Miqneh*.

47 Then Joseph went in and told Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brethren, and their flocks, and their herds, and all that they have, are come out of the land of Canaan; and, behold, they are in the land of Goshen.
2 And from among his brethren he took five men, and
3 presented them unto Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said unto his brethren, What is your occupation? And they said unto Pharaoh, Thy servants are shepherds, both we, and
4 our fathers. And they said unto Pharaoh, To sojourn in the land are we come; for there is no pasture for thy servants' flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants
5 dwell in the land of Goshen. [P] And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are

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Erman[1] writes: 'In the marshy districts the cattle were kept by men who were scarcely regarded by the true Egyptian as his equals. The manner in which the sculptors of the Old Empire designated the marshmen shows that they considered them rather as pariahs. Such a man might be indispensable as a good herdsman . . . but he was all too dirty.' The story probably indicates that Joseph made this arrangement in order that his family might not be absorbed by the Egyptians, but might maintain their distinct nationality, and be ready hereafter to fulfil their Divine mission.

xlvii. **4. no pasture:** owing to the drought which had caused the famine.

5 (P). **And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph.** The LXX reads[2]: 'And Jacob and his sons came into Egypt to Joseph; and Pharaoh king of Egypt heard of it. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph,' &c. This must have been the original text, which obviously arose by combining two documents. One of the copyists of the Hebrew text noticed the inconsistency of the sentence with what preceded, and omitted it.

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[1] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 439.

[2] The LXX also has 6^b preceded by 'And Pharaoh said unto Joseph,' immediately after verse 4, thus keeping all the P material together; no doubt this was the original arrangement.

come unto thee: the land of Egypt is before thee; in 6
the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to
dwell; [J] in the land of Goshen let them dwell: and
if thou knowest any able men among them, then make
them rulers over my cattle. [P] And Joseph brought in 7
Jacob his father, and set him before Pharaoh: and
Jacob blessed Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, 8
How many are the days of the years of thy life? And 9
Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my
pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and
evil have been the days of the years of my life, and they
have not attained unto the days of the years of the life
of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage. And 10

The LXX therefore of verses 4–6 runs as follows, the words in brackets being found only in the LXX[1]:—

4 (J). 'And they said unto Pharaoh, To sojourn in the land are we come; for there is no pasture for thy servants' flocks; for the famine is sore in the land of Canaan: now therefore, we pray thee, let thy servants dwell in the land of Goshen. [And Pharaoh said unto Joseph] 6[b]. In the land of Goshen let them dwell: and if thou knowest any able men among them, then make them rulers over my cattle.'

(P) '[And Jacob and his sons came into Egypt to Joseph. And Pharaoh the king of Egypt heard.] 5. And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: 6[a]. the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and thy brethren to dwell.'

6[b] (J). **able men**: R. V. marg., 'men of activity.'

rulers over my cattle. The superintendents of the royal herds were important officials.

9 (P). **pilgrimage**: R. V. marg., 'sojournings.'

few: only 130. Isaac lived to be 180. xxxv. 28 (P); and Abraham to be 175, xxv. 7 (P); the patriarchs of ch. xi (P) longer periods; and the antediluvians of ch. v (P) still longer, the climax being reached in the 969 years of Methuselah.

evil. The word recalls his exile; his strife with Laban, and with Esau; his suffering through the misdoings of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi; and, last and worst of all, his supposed bereavement of Joseph.

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[1] Cf. *Oxford Hexateuch.*

Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and went out from the presence
11 of Pharaoh. And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses,
12 as Pharaoh had commanded. [J] And Joseph nourished his father, and his brethren, and all his father's household, with bread, according to their families.

13 And there was no bread in all the land; for the famine was very sore, so that the land of Egypt and the
14 land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine. And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into
15 Pharaoh's house. And when the money was all spent in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for *our* money

11 (P). **the land of Rameses:** only here and in the LXX of xlvi. 28. This 'land' is no doubt the district of the city of Rameses, Exod. i. 11. The situation of Rameses is not certainly known, but it is often placed a little to the west of *Tell-el-Kebir*, i. e. in Goshen.

12 (J). **according to their families:** R. V. marg., 'according to the number of their little ones.'

xlvii. 13–26. THE FAMINE IN EGYPT (J).

xlvii. 13, 14. Joseph receives all the Egyptians' money for corn.

xlvii. 15–17. He takes all their cattle, &c., for corn.

xlvii. 18–22. He takes them and their land for corn; except the priests and their land.

xlvii. 23–26. He makes a law that a fifth of the produce of the land should go to Pharaoh. The priests are exempted.

15. when the money was all spent. Under ordinary circumstances the 'money' or silver would have been largely paid out again by the government in pensions, wages, purchase of goods, &c. The story does not tell us why this did not happen.

all the Egyptians. We are not told what happened in the land of Canaan.

faileth. And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will 16
give you for your cattle, if money fail. And they 17
brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them
bread in exchange for the horses, and for the flocks, and
for the herds, and for the asses: and he fed them with
bread in exchange for all their cattle for that year. And 18
when that year was ended, they came unto him the
second year, and said unto him, We will not hide from
my lord, how that our money is all spent; and the herds
of cattle are my lord's; there is nought left in the sight
of my lord, but our bodies, and our lands: wherefore 19
should we die before thine eyes, both we and our land?
buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will
be servants unto Pharaoh: and give us seed, that we
may live, and not die, and that the land be not desolate.

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17. horses. There is at present no strong evidence that horses were known in Egypt before the eighteenth dynasty[1], which began about B.C. 1530. By sacrificing the chronological statements of the O. T. it might be possible to date Joseph after this time.

flocks, and for the herds: R. V. marg., 'Heb. cattle of the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds.'

fed them: R. V. marg., 'Heb. led them as a shepherd.' Apparently, too, Joseph's stores enabled him to feed all the cattle as well.

19. seed. Cf. verse 23, 'here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land.' These words imply that this transaction took place in the last year of the famine, so that the people could sow, and expect a return. It can hardly be meant that Joseph sold the people seed at a most exorbitant price, when he knew it would be useless. Moreover, by this time everybody would know about Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation. In xlv. 11 two years of famine had elapsed. Apparently the people had money and stores enough to keep them five years, they lived a year on the price of the cattle, and another year on that of the land, &c. But the story must not be pressed in these details. In any case Joseph drove a hard bargain with the starving people; he took them and their land for a year's food and seed for the next sowing.

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[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 490.

20 So Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh;
for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the
famine was sore upon them: and the land became
21 Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them
to the cities from one end of the border of Egypt even
22 to the other end thereof. Only the land of the priests
bought he not: for the priests had a portion from Pha-
raoh, and did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them;
23 wherefore they sold not their land. Then Joseph said
unto the people, Behold, I have bought you this day
and your land for Pharaoh: lo, here is seed for you, and
24 ye shall sow the land. And it shall come to pass at the

20, 21. the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people, he removed them to the cities. R. V. marg. 'according to Samar-[itan-Hebrew text], Sept. and Vulg., "he made bondmen [i. e. slaves] of them."' According to the theory of many eastern States, e. g. ancient Persia, both the land and the inhabitants were the property of the sovereign. After the Norman Conquest the land of England was in theory the property of the king. No doubt our author in this passage gives a fairly accurate account of the tenure of land in Egypt in his time. We learn from the monuments that a very large proportion of the land in Egypt was held either by the king or by the priests; but there does not seem as yet to be any conclusive confirmation of the whole of the statements in this chapter as to tenure of land. The monuments do not confirm the statement that this tenure originated with Joseph.

In verse 21 the reading of the Samaritan text and the versions is no doubt correct. R. V. text would imply that Joseph placed the people in the cities for convenience in feeding them; but, if so, how could they use their seed?

22. the land of the priests. The priests, we learn from the monuments, had vast estates, like the monasteries and clergy in the Middle Ages; and these estates certainly remained the property of the priests.

the priests had a portion from Pharaoh: an exceptional provision for the time of famine. The Egyptian kings often made gifts of corn, &c., to the temples; but it was not a regular custom for the king to provide the priests with food.

23. Cf. verse 19.

ingatherings, that ye shall give a fifth unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones. And they said, Thou hast 25
saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants. And Joseph made it 26
a statute concerning the land of Egypt unto this day, that Pharaoh should have the fifth; only the land of the priests alone became not Pharaoh's. And Israel dwelt 27
in the land of Egypt, in the land of Goshen; [P] and they gat them possessions therein, and were fruitful, and multiplied exceedingly.

And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years: 28
so the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were an hundred forty and seven years. [J] And the time drew near 29
that Israel must die: And he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt: but when I sleep with my fathers, thou shalt 30

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24. a fifth unto Pharaoh. Erman[1]: 'The *greater part* of the harvests which the peasant-serfs reaped from the treasury lands, as well as the material woven or spun by their wives, belonged of course to the State, and was collected mercilessly.'

xlvii. 27-31. ISRAEL'S LAST DAYS (P and J).

xlvii. 27[a2] (J). Israel dwells in Egypt.

xlvii. 26[b3], 28 (P). Jacob's family prosper in Egypt. He attains the age of 147.

xlvii. 29-31 (J). Jacob makes Joseph promise to bury him in Canaan.

29. thy hand under my thigh. See on xxiv. 2.
their burying-place. Cf. xxxv. 20.

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[1] *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. trans., p. 122; italics are our own.
[2] As far as 'Goshen.' [3] From 'and they gat.'

carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their burying-
31 place. And he said, I will do as thou hast said. And
he said, Swear unto me: and he sware unto him. And
Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head.

48 [JE] And it came to pass after these things, that one
said to Joseph, Behold, thy father is sick: and he took
2 with him his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. And
one told Jacob, and said, Behold, thy son Joseph cometh
unto thee: and Israel strengthened himself, and sat
3 upon the bed. [P] And Jacob said unto Joseph, God
Almighty appeared unto me at Luz in the land of Canaan,
4 and blessed me, and said unto me, Behold, I will make
thee fruitful, and multiply thee, and I will make of thee
a company of peoples; and will give this land to thy
5 seed after thee for an everlasting possession. And now

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31. Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head: rather, 'Israel worshipped,' gave Yahweh thanks for Joseph's promise, (supporting himself) 'on the head,' or pillow, 'of the bed.' It has been suggested that in the original form of the story there was an image at the head of the bed, which Jacob worshipped. The LXX, by giving the Hebrew consonants different vowels, gets 'his staff' instead of 'bed.'

xlviii. The Blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh (JE and P).

xlviii. 1, 2 (JE). Joseph takes his sons to his father.

xlviii. 3–6 (P). Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh.

xlviii. 7–22 (JE). Israel-Jacob adopts Ephraim and Manasseh, and blesses them; but gives the chief blessing to Ephraim, the younger son.

Sources, &c. This chapter is a piece of tribal history[1]. Ephraim and Manasseh, though originally only divisions of a tribe, ultimately attained to the status of full tribes. In older times Manasseh, in more recent times Ephraim, was pre-eminent. The blessing of Jacob the Patriarch represents the solemn approval of these arrangements by the people of Israel.

3. God Almighty: R.V. marg., 'Heb. *El Shaddai*.' See on xvii. 1.
Luz. See on xxxv. 6.

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[1] See p. 47.

thy two sons, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt before I came unto thee into Egypt, are mine; Ephraim and Manasseh, even as Reuben and Simeon, shall be mine. And thy issue, which thou begettest 6
after them, shall be thine; they shall be called after the name of their brethren in their inheritance. [JE] And 7
as for me, when I came from Paddan, Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when there was still some way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way to Ephrath (the same is Beth-lehem). And Israel beheld Joseph's sons, and said, Who are 8
these? And Joseph said unto his father, They are my 9
sons, whom God hath given me here. And he said, Bring them, I pray thee, unto me, and I will bless them. Now the eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could 10
not see. And he brought them near unto him; and he kissed them, and embraced them. And Israel said unto 11
Joseph, I had not thought to see thy face: and, lo, God hath let me see thy seed also. And Joseph brought 12
them out from between his knees; and he bowed himself with his face to the earth. And Joseph took them 13
both, Ephraim in his right hand toward Israel's left hand, and Manasseh in his left hand toward Israel's

5. Reuben and Simeon: the two eldest sons.

6. thy issue, which thou begettest (R. V. marg., 'hast begotten') **after them.** No other children of Joseph are mentioned. The verse, however, served to bar the claim of any clan not of Ephraim or Manasseh to belong to Joseph.

shall be called after the name of their brethren: reckoned as of one of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

7. Cf. xxxv. 19 (J).

by me: R. V. marg., 'to my sorrow.'

8. Who are these? Cf. verse 10.

10. Cf. Isaac, xxvii. 1.

12. brought them out from between his knees: rather, 'took them from his (Jacob's) knees'; they are thought of as children.

13. Manasseh . . . toward Israel's right hand: that Israel

14 right hand, and brought them near unto him. And
Israel stretched out his right hand, and laid it upon
Ephraim's head, who was the younger, and his left hand
upon Manasseh's head, guiding his hands wittingly; for
15 Manasseh was the firstborn. And he blessed Joseph,
and said, The God before whom my fathers Abraham
and Isaac did walk, the God which hath fed me all my
16 life long unto this day, the angel which hath redeemed
me from all evil, bless the lads; and let my name be
named on them, and the name of my fathers Abraham
and Isaac; and let them grow into a multitude in the
17 midst of the earth. And when Joseph saw that his
father laid his right hand upon the head of Ephraim, it
displeased him: and he held up his father's hand, to
remove it from Ephraim's head unto Manasseh's head.
18 And Joseph said unto his father, Not so, my father: for
this is the firstborn; put thy right hand upon his head.
19 And his father refused, and said, I know *it*, my son, I
know *it*: he also shall become a people, and he also
shall be great: howbeit his younger brother shall be
greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude

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might lay his right hand on Manasseh's head. This 'laying on of hands' would be part of the ritual of blessing; as it was of sacrifices, &c., &c. The right hand, as the more capable, was the symbol of pre-eminence.

14. Cf. above, 'Sources, &c.' Jacob, like his father Isaac, blesses the younger more than the elder; but Jacob does so wittingly, whether that be expressly stated here or no; cf. verse 19.

guiding his hands wittingly: R. V. marg., 'crossing his hands.'

16. angel: i. e. the angel of God or of Yahweh; cf. xvi. 7, xxi. 17.

let my name be named on them: i. e. 'let them be reckoned as my sons.'

19. Cf. 'Sources, &c.'

multitude: R. V. marg., 'Heb. fulness.'

of nations. And he blessed them that day, saying, In 20
thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as
Ephraim and as Manasseh: and he set Ephraim before
Manasseh. And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die: 21
but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the
land of your fathers. Moreover I have given to thee 22
one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the
hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.

[J] And Jacob called unto his sons, and said: Gather 49

20. In (R. V. marg., 'By') **thee.**

21. bring you again: you, i.e. the people of Israel.

22. one portion (R. V. marg., 'mountain slope. Heb. *shechem*, shoulder') **above thy brethren.**

which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow. This verse implies a conquest of Shechem by united Israel, and a special gift of the city to the tribe of Joseph. Verses 21, 22 are commonly given to E; as are also the statements in xxxiii. 19 that Jacob came in peace to Shechem and bought land there; and portions of the story in ch. xxxiv that Simeon and Levi sacked Shechem, and that Jacob had to flee from the vengeance of the Canaanites. These traditions cannot be reconciled; but E may have combined stories whose inconsistency was disguised by their form as individual biography; or some one else may have added a paragraph in which, after the fashion of some patriotic historians, a disaster became a triumph.

xlix. 1-27. The Blessing of Jacob.

(*An Ancient Lyric.*)

xlix. 1, 2. Introductory.

The Sons of Leah.

xlix. 3, 4. Reuben (I).

xlix. 5-7. Simeon and Levi (II, III).

xlix. 8-12. Judah (IV).

xlix. 13. Zebulun (V).

xlix. 14, 15. Issachar (VI).

A Son of Bilhah.

xlix. 16-18. Dan (VII).

The Sons of Zilpah.

xlix. 19. Gad (VIII).

xlix. 20. Asher (IX).

yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter days.

2 Assemble yourselves, and hear, ye sons of Jacob;
And hearken unto Israel your father.

3 Reuben, thou art my firstborn, my might, and the beginning of my strength;
The excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power.

4 Unstable as water, thou shalt not have the excellency;

A Son of Bilhah.

xlix. 21. Naphtali (X).

The Sons of Rachel.

xlix. 22–26. Joseph (XI).

xlix. 27. Benjamin (XII).

Sources, &c. We have placed J in the margin against this poem, because it is fairly probable that the compiler of the Primitive Document included it in his work; but it is not impossible that it was not a part of either the Primitive or the Elohistic Document, but was inserted in the Twofold Document by the editor who combined J and E. Before the 'Blessing' was incorporated in one of these works, it may have existed as an entirely separate document, or may have been included in a collection of poems. Probably the 'Blessing' as we have it is a revised edition of an earlier form.

This poem again has nothing[1] to do with the careers of individuals, but deals with the fortunes of the tribes. The date has been fixed as early as the time of David, but as both Judah and Joseph are referred to as royal tribes, the 'Blessing,' in its present form at any rate, can hardly be earlier than the Division of the Monarchy.

3. Reuben, . . . my firstborn. See on xxix. 32.

beginning: rather, as R. V. marg., 'firstfruits,' synonymous with 'firstborn.'

The excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power: first in rank and authority, as firstborn.

4. See on xxxv. 22; cf. Judges v. 16.

Unstable: R. V. marg., 'Bubbling over.'

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[1] Cf., however, notes on verses 3–7.

Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed:
Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.
Simeon and Levi are brethren;
Weapons of violence are their swords.
O my soul, come not thou into their council; 6
Unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou united;
For in their anger they slew a man,

thou shalt not have (R.V. marg., 'have not thou') **the excellency**: i. e. Reuben should not actually enjoy the pre-eminence due to him as firstborn. As the reference is really to the tribe, we might interpret thus: in early times Reuben was the premier tribe, but owing to some unfriendly or treacherous act in connexion with the Bilhah tribe (Dan-Naphtali), Reuben became estranged from the rest of Israel, and through its isolation suffered reverses which reduced the tribe to mere refugees in Gad. In the 'Song of Deborah,' Reuben and Dan hold back from the general levy of Israel against Sisera, in which Naphtali takes a prominent part[1]. In a later series of oracles on the tribes, 'The Blessing of Moses,' probably compiled towards the close of the Northern Kingdom, Reuben is at its last gasp:—

'Let Reuben live, and not die;
Yet let his men be few[2].'

he went up to my couch. We should probably read, on the authority of the LXX, 'thou wentest up.' Some think that this verse refers in some way to the lax sexual morality of the Reubenites.

5, 6. Simeon and Levi. See on xxix. 33, 34, and xxxiv.

brethren: 'sons' of Leah, sections of Leah, but so much was true of Reuben, Judah, &c., so that 'brethren' here must be used in a special sense, 'close allies' or 'alike in character and conduct.'

5. swords: R. V. marg., 'compacts'; the Hebrew word[3] only occurs here, and its meaning is quite uncertain.

6. O my soul, come not thou: an emphatic way of saying, 'let me not come.'

council: R. V. marg., 'secret.'

my glory, be not thou: an emphatic way of saying, 'let me not be.'

they slew a man: better, as R. V. marg., 'men,' i. e. in the massacre at Shechem, xxxiv. 26 (which see).

[1] Judges v. 16–18. [2] Deut. xxxiii. 6.
[3] *Mekherothehem.*

And in their selfwill they houghed an ox.
7 Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce;
And their wrath, for it was cruel:
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.
8 Judah, thee shall thy brethren praise:
Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies;
Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee.
9 Judah is a lion's whelp;
From the prey, my son, thou art gone up:
He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?

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they houghed an ox: R. V. marg., 'oxen.' An incident in the sack of Shechem. Joshua vi. 21 tells us that the Israelites killed all the animals in Jericho; and Joshua xi. 6, 9 tells us that Joshua houghed the horses taken from Jabin, king of Hazor.

7. Cursed be their anger: a formal disavowal of the conduct of the two tribes; cf. xxxiv. 30, 'Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me, to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land.'

I will divide them. In historical times the Simeonites are refugees in Judah, as the Reubenites in Gad; and the Levites are scattered throughout Israel. Probably the sack of Shechem was so terribly avenged by the Canaanites that Simeon and Levi could no longer hold their own as separate tribes. Their guilt seems to have consisted in the violation of a covenant between Israel and Shechem; cf. on xxxiv. Note that there is no suggestion here that Levi has any priestly character.

8–12. Judah. Cf. xxix. 35.

8. shall . . . praise: Heb. *yodu*, a popular etymology of Judah.

Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies: probably a reference to the conquests of David.

Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee. This line seems to indicate that the section on Judah originated under the Judahite kings of united Israel, David and Solomon. The section on Joseph (which see) may have originated in another period.

9. a lion's whelp, &c., figures for the warlike power of Judah.

art gone up: in safety to his den, where no one dares disturb him.

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, 10
Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet,
Until Shiloh come;
And unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be.
Binding his foal unto the vine, 11
And his ass's colt unto the choice vine;

10. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah. 'The obedience of the peoples' in the last clause shows that this verse contemplates the world-wide rule of a Jewish king, i. e. it is Messianic.

the ruler's staff . . . between his feet. Assyrian and other kings are depicted sitting with a staff of office, one end of which is between their feet.

Until Shiloh come. The Hebrew represented by these words is unintelligible. If we take R.V. text, 'Until Shiloh come, and unto him,' &c., Shiloh must be a person, and in this sense it has been understood as a title of the Messiah[1], perhaps 'his son[2],' or 'his own one[3]'; or as a name equivalent to Solomon. Can Shiloh be a corruption of Shelah? Cf. xxxviii. The actual rendering of the LXX is, 'Until that which is his shall come,' &c., which is as unintelligible as the Hebrew, but is sometimes understood as a veiled reference to the Messiah. The Syriac is more explicit, 'Until he cometh to whom it belongs,' which also might be a veiled reference. The R.V. marg., 'Till he come to Shiloh, having the obedience,' is also unintelligible. It would imply that Shiloh was a place, and that the coming to Shiloh was a crisis which terminated the supremacy of Judah and the existence of its dynasty. By torturing the language we might connect this with the final establishment of Judah in its territory at the time when the ark was settled at Shiloh. But none of these interpretations are probable.

This verse is often regarded as a later addition; it interrupts the natural connexion between verses 9 and 11. Moreover, verses 11, 12 do not suit a Messianic king.

xlix. 11, 12. These verses describe the wealth of the territory of Judah in fertile vineyards and well-stocked, well-watered pastures.

11. Binding his foal unto the vine: because the vines were so abundant.

[1] Targum of Onkelos, second century Aramaic translation.

[2] So some Rabbinical commentators of the Middle Ages, Kimchi, &c. (*Encycl. Biblica*, 'SHILOH,' to which this note is largely indebted).

[3] Reading '*shello*,' which seems indicated by the LXX.

He hath washed his garments in wine,
And his vesture in the blood of grapes:
12 His eyes shall be red with wine,
And his teeth white with milk.
13 Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea:
And he shall be for an haven of ships;
And his border shall be upon Zidon.
14 Issachar is a strong ass,

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12. his teeth white with milk: probably by a very natural, but false, analogy, the abundant white milk is thought of as making the teeth white; cf. the line, 'Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat.'

13. Zebulun. This verse describes the position of the territory of the tribe as on the sea-coast; but according to Joshua xix. 10-16 Asher lay along the Mediterranean, and Naphtali along the Sea of Galilee, and the territory of Zebulun did not touch the sea. In Judges v. 17 Asher is at the haven of the sea; but in Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19 Zebulun and Issachar are coupled together, and it is said of them:—

'For they shall suck the abundance of the seas,
And the hidden treasures of the sand.'

Apparently at one time Zebulun had territory on the coast, or bordering on the land of the maritime Phoenicians; but we cannot be certain when. Cf. xxix. 20.

haven . . . haven: R. V. marg., 'beach . . . beach.'

upon Zidon: R. V. marg., 'by Zidon.'

14. Issachar. Cf. xxx. 18; *lit.* 'ass of bone.'

a strong ass. The Israelites did not think of the ass as a foolish and absurd animal[1]; on the contrary, nobles rode on asses on state occasions; in Zech. ix. 9 the Messiah comes 'riding upon an ass.' The 'strong ass,' the patient, unwarlike beast of burden, is a figure for a tribe which preferred peace, and comfort, and plenty to independence at the cost of the risk and loss of war. In Judges v. 15, however, Issachar is a patriotic warrior tribe; again the two poems refer to different periods, and we are inclined to think that the 'Blessing of Jacob' is the later. The prosperity of Issachar is also insisted on in Deut. xxxiii. 19. Instead of 'strong ass' a very slight alteration would give 'ass of foreigners,' an allusion to the tributary state of Issachar.

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[1] Even in Prov. xxvi. 3 the ass is coupled with the horse as well as with the fool.

Couching down between the sheepfolds:
And he saw a resting place that it was good, 15
And the land that it was pleasant;
And he bowed his shoulder to bear,
And became a servant under taskwork.
Dan shall judge his people, 16
As one of the tribes of Israel.
Dan shall be a serpent in the way, 17
An adder in the path,
That biteth the horse's heels,

sheepfolds. The Hebrew word[1] only occurs here, and in the 'Song of Deborah[2],' which, according to the R. V., says of Reuben, 'Why satest thou among the sheepfolds?' The meaning of the word is uncertain, and the rendering 'dung-heaps' has also been proposed[3].

15. a resting place: R. V. marg., 'rest.'

pleasant: the fertile plain of Esdraelon lay partly in the territory of Issachar.

a servant under taskwork. In 1 Kings v. 13 Solomon raises 'a levy' of Israelites to work on the building of the temple. 'Levy' in Kings and 'taskwork' here translate the same Hebrew word[4]. 'Servant under taskwork' denotes subjection to the Canaanites or Phoenicians involving the *corvée* or tribute of unpaid labour, or some other form of tribute. In Judges i. 28, 35, which is one of the older portions of the Primitive Document, certain Israelite tribes put the Canaanites and Amorites to taskwork, or render them tributary.

16. Dan. Cf. xxx. 6.

judge: suggested by the fact that Dan as a Hebrew common noun would mean 'judge.'

As one of the tribes of Israel. Dan had great difficulty in obtaining a settlement and maintaining itself as a separate tribe. Hence it is thought of as fortunate in being a tribe at all. From the position of these verses in the list it seems that the Northern Dan is meant.

17. adder: A. V. marg., 'arrowsnake,' R. V. marg., 'horned snake,' i. e. the cerastes.

biteth the horse's heels: a figure for the stratagems of guerilla warfare; the tribe was too weak for open attack.

[1] *Mishpethayim.*
[2] Judges v. 16.
[3] Moore, *Judges.*
[4] *Mas.*

So that his rider falleth backward.
18 I have waited for thy salvation, O LORD.
19 Gad, a troop shall press upon him:
But he shall press upon their heel.
20 Out of Asher his bread shall be fat,
And he shall yield royal dainties.
21 Naphtali is a hind let loose:
He giveth goodly words.
22 Joseph is a fruitful bough,

---

18. I have waited for thy salvation. Perhaps another reference to the precarious position of the tribe; or perhaps a pious ejaculation written by some reader on the margin of his manuscript, and afterwards copied into the text.

19. Gad. Cf. xxx. 11.

a troop shall press . . . But he shall press: an elaborate play upon the name 'Gad'; the Hebrew is (*gad*) *gedud yegudennu. . . yagud.* The 'troop' is a raiding band; we might render. 'The raiders shall raid him . . . but he shall raid.' Gad was neighbour to the Bedouin of the desert, and suffered at their hands, and retaliated.

20. Asher. Cf. xxx. 13. The position of Asher after Gad seems a reminiscence of the old connexion between the two as 'sons' of Zilpah; they were not neighbours in later times.

Out of Asher: an awkward expression; it is better to read simply 'Asher,' with the LXX, &c.

his bread shall be fat: a reference to the fertility of the territory. Deut. xxxiii. 24 speaks of Asher dipping his foot in oil.

21. Naphtali: the neighbour of Asher; cf. xxx. 8.

a hind let loose:
He giveth goodly words.

The 'hind let loose' would be a figure for the freedom and energy of the tribe. It is, of course, the tribe and not the 'hind' that 'giveth goodly words.' The latter might refer to eloquence. But this R. V. rendering is probably wrong; a slight alteration of the reading would give a version suggested by the LXX, 'a slender terebinth, putting forth goodly shoots,' another figure for prosperity, or perhaps a reference to the long, narrow shape of the territory of the tribe.

22-26. Joseph. The length of this blessing, and its terms, point to a special interest in Joseph, and probably to the origin of this section of the poem in the Northern Kingdom after the Division of the Monarchy. If so, it is later than the section on

A fruitful bough by a fountain;
His branches run over the wall.
The archers have sorely grieved him, 23
And shot at him, and persecuted him:
But his bow abode in strength, 24
And the arms of his hands were made strong,
By the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,
(From thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel,)

Judah[1]. It may be based on some earlier couplets on the tribe. This blessing of Joseph has much in common with the corresponding section of the blessing of Moses[2]. In the 'Song of Deborah' we read of Ephraim and Machir instead of Joseph.

22. a fruitful bough (Heb. 'the son of a fruitful tree') ... **his branches** (Heb. 'daughters'), &c. These are familiar figures for prosperity, fertility, and a large, increasing population. The Hebrew word represented by 'fruitful (tree,' *porath*, may have been suggested by Ephraim, the principal division of Joseph, or by Ephrathite, the adjective formed from Ephraim. It is doubtful, however, whether we have the verse in its original form.

23, 24. These verses describe the success of Joseph in defending itself against an aggressive enemy. Possibly Joseph here is the Northern Kingdom, and the enemy the Syrians of Damascus, with whom the kings of Israel waged almost constant wars from about B. C. 900. Or Joseph may be the separate tribe, and the reference may be to the period of the Judges, and to events which can no longer be identified.

24. strong: R. V. marg., 'active.'

the Mighty One of Jacob: a Divine title, Isaiah i. 24, &c.; sometimes translated as 'the Bull of Jacob,' and connected with the calf at Beth-el, the great sanctuary of the Northern Kingdom; but the Hebrew word[3] need not mean 'bull.'

From thence is the shepherd, (R. V. marg., From thence, from the shepherd,' or, as otherwise read, 'By the name of the shepherd') **the stone of Israel.** None of these renderings make sense; R. V. text would seem to mean that the 'shepherd,' i. e. the ruler, of Israel came from Joseph; but this does not give the parallelism with the previous verse required by the structure of the poem. The renderings in R. V. marg. are more satisfactory in this respect, they also might be understood to express the idea that deliverance came from God; but the parallelism is not

[1] See on verses 8–12. [2] See notes on verses 25, 26.
[3] *'Abhir.*

25 Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee,
And by the Almighty, who shall bless thee,
With blessings of heaven above,
Blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath,
Blessings of the breasts, and of the womb.
26 The blessings of thy father
Have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors
Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills:

---

sufficiently close, and the construction is awkward. The rendering 'from the name' is found in two[1] ancient versions, and is obtained by a slight change in the vowels. Others propose to translate, 'By the name of the shepherd of the stone of Israel,' i. e. of the stone set up by Israel (Jacob) at Beth-el[2]. The phrase would thus mean, 'By the name of the God of Beth-el[3].' 'Shepherd' is a Divine title in Ps. xxiii. 1, 'The Lord is my shepherd'; lxxx. 1, 'The Shepherd of Israel,' &c. The title 'stone[4] of Israel' for God only occurs here, but is parallel to 'rock[5].' It is doubtful what was the original form of this line; but, like the preceding, it must have expressed the idea that the deliverance of Joseph came from God.

25. the God of thy father: Jacob (Israel), a favourite Divine title: cf. Exod iii. 15, 'Yahweh, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'; Gen. xxvi. 24, &c.

the Almighty: *Shaddai.* See on xvii. 1.

blessings of heaven above: in Deut. xxxiii. 13, 'precious things of heaven.'

the deep that coucheth beneath: so also Deut. xxxiii. 13. 'The deep' is the *tehom* of i. 2, that corresponds to Tiamat the dragon of the abyss; and the language is a reminiscence of this personification.

26. The blessings of thy father
Have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors
Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills.

This rendering is nonsense, and is not even a literal translation of the Hebrew text as it stands. A very slight alteration enables us to read with the LXX 'mountains of eternity,' instead of 'my progenitors, unto,' so that with another slight change we get R. V. marg.:—

> '... above the blessings of the ancient mountains,
> the desire (*or*, desirable things) of the everlasting hills.'

---

[1] Syriac and Targum of Onkelos. [2] xxviii. 18–22, xxxv. 14.
[3] So Dillmann. [4] *'Ebhen.* [5] *Çur*, Ps. xviii. 31, &c.

They shall be on the head of Joseph,
And on the crown of the head of him that was
separate from his brethren.
Benjamin is a wolf that ravineth: 27
In the morning he shall devour the prey,
And at even he shall divide the spoil.

[P] All these are the twelve tribes of Israel: and this is 28
it that their father spake unto them and blessed them;
every one according to his blessing he blessed them.
And he charged them, and said unto them, I am to be 29

Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 15:—

'And for the chief things of the ancient mountains,
And for the precious things of the everlasting hills.'

that was separate from his brethren. The words from 'on the head of Joseph' to the end of the verse are also found in Deut. xxxiii. 16. The R. V. text, 'separate from his brethren,' suggests the experience of Joseph in Egypt; but the words do not do justice to the original. The Hebrew word rendered 'separate' is *nazir*, which usually means 'Nazirite,' so the word here is interpreted 'consecrated, devoted,' as chief or champion; so R. V. marg., 'prince among his brethren.' As the cognate noun *nezer* means 'crown,' *nazir* has even been understood as 'crowned,' which would at once give the sense of 'prince,' or 'king. In Lam. iv. 7, R. V. text translates *nazir* 'noble,' but gives 'Nazirite' in the margin. The reference here may be to the Northern Kingdom, or to Joseph's leadership of the northern tribes in the period of the judges.

27. Benjamin. Cf. xxxv. 18.

wolf, &c.: referring to the warlike character of the tribe.

xlix. 28—l. 14. DEATH AND BURIAL OF JACOB (J, E, and P).

xlix. 28-33[a], [c1] (P). Jacob dies, after charging his sons to bury him at Machpelah.

xlix. 33[b1], l. 1–11, 14 (J). Jacob dies. Joseph mourns him; has him embalmed; and buries him in Eastern Palestine.

l. 12, 13 (P). Jacob's sons bury him at Machpelah.

28. A note on the previous poem by an editor.

29, 30. Cf. xlvii. 29–31, xxiii. 19.

---

[1] 33[b] = 'he gathered up . . . bed.'

gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in
30 the cave that is in the field of Ephron the Hittite, in the
cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before
Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought
with the field from Ephron the Hittite for a possession of
31 a buryingplace: there they buried Abraham and Sarah
his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife;
32 and there I buried Leah: the field and the cave that is
therein, which was purchased from the children of Heth.
33 And when Jacob made an end of charging his sons,
[J] he gathered up his feet into the bed, [P] and
yielded up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people.

50 [J] And Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept
2 upon him, and kissed him. And Joseph commanded his
servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the
3 physicians embalmed Israel. And forty days were
fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of embalm-
ing: and the Egyptians wept for him threescore and ten
days.

---

31. It is not stated elsewhere that Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah were buried at Machpelah.

32. The construction is awkward, probably some mistake has been made in copying the text; we might perhaps read, 'the field, &c., were purchased[1]'; or else regard the verse as an editorial addition.

33[b] (J). **gathered up his feet**: i. e. 'lay down'; he had been sitting up.

33[c] (P). **and yielded up the ghost.** The Hebrew is a single word, simply 'expired.'

1. **2. the physicians embalmed Israel**: i. e. made the corpse into a mummy. The embalmers were a professional class: there were also professional doctors, often priests. We read of doctors attached to the royal household, so that Joseph would have his 'physicians.' It is doubtful whether it was according to Egyptian usage for household physicians to embalm.

3. forty days . . . embalming. Similar statements are made

---

[1] Ball.

And when the days of weeping for him were past, 4
Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now
I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in
the ears of Pharaoh, saying, My father made me swear, 5
saying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for
me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me.
Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my
father, and I will come again. And Pharaoh said, Go 6
up, and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear.
And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him 7
went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his
house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, and all 8
the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's
house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their
herds, they left in the land of Goshen. And there went 9
up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a
very great company. And they came to the threshing- 10
floor of Atad, which is beyond Jordan, and there they

by Greek writers. Maspero speaks of remains of a dead man plunged 'into the bath of liquid natron, in which they must soak for seventy days[1]'; but gives no authority.

threescore and ten days, including the period of embalming. In Israel the period was sometimes thirty days[2]; but the embalming and other funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians required a longer period.

5. have digged: R. V. marg., less probably, 'bought.'

7–9. The Egyptian tombs depict magnificent funeral processions of kings and great officials.

10. the threshing-floor of Atad: or 'Goren-atad,' the 'threshing-floor of the Thornbush'; the site is unknown, and the name found nowhere else.

beyond Jordan: east of Jordan. It is not clear that Goren-atad is the place of burial. It has been suggested that Joseph halted to make lamentation, i. e. have a second funeral service, as soon as he reached the borders of the Promised Land; but it is more natural to think that the final ceremony was performed in the

[1] *Ancient Egypt*, &c., p. 126.
[2] Num. xx. 29, Aaron; Deut. xxxiv. 8, Moses.

lamented with a very great and sore lamentation: and he
11 made a mourning for his father seven days. And when
the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, saw the
mourning in the floor of Atad, they said, This is a griev-
ous mourning to the Egyptians: wherefore the name of
it was called Abel-mizraim, which is beyond Jordan. [P]
12 And his sons did unto him according as he commanded
13 them: for his sons carried him into the land of Canaan,
and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah,
which Abraham bought with the field, for a possession of
a buryingplace, of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre.

14 [J] And Joseph returned into Egypt, he, and his
brethren, and all that went up with him to bury his

---

neighbourhood of the tomb. If so, this verse, J, preserves a different tradition from that given in verse 13, P. It is doubtful, however, whether J regarded Eastern Palestine as Canaan. Possibly 'beyond Jordan' in verses 10 and 11 is an addition by an editor, who sought to avoid all appearance of inconsistency with verse 13, by suggesting that this was a place of 'mourning' quite distinct from the tomb. There is no other trace of any tradition that Jacob was buried east of the Jordan.

seven days: the ordinary period of lamentation in Israel[1].

11. mourning: R. V. marg., 'Heb. *ebel*.'

Abel-mizraim = 'the meadow of Egypt,' or more probably, 'of the Egyptians.'

13 (P). Cf. xlix. 29–31 (P).

l. 15–26. The Last Days of Joseph (E).

l. 15–21. Joseph promises to continue his kindness to his brethren.

l. 22–26. Joseph adopts Machir, the son of Manasseh. Joseph dies at the age of 110 (? P), and is embalmed, having made the Israelites promise to take his remains with them to Canaan.

Sources, &c. According to some critics, there are fragments of J embedded in this section; and the statements as to Joseph's age are from P.

---

[1] 1 Sam. xxxi. 13 (Saul and Jonathan).

father, after he had buried his father. [E] And when 15
Joseph's brethren saw that their father was dead, they
said, It may be that Joseph will hate us, and will fully
requite us all the evil which we did unto him. And 16
they sent a message unto Joseph, saying, Thy father did
command before he died, saying, So shall ye say unto 17
Joseph, Forgive, I pray thee now, the transgression of
thy brethren, and their sin, for that they did unto thee
evil: and now, we pray thee, forgive the transgression of
the servants of the God of thy father. And Joseph wept
when they spake unto him. And his brethren also went 18
and fell down before his face; and they said, Behold, we
be thy servants. And Joseph said unto them, Fear not: 19
for am I in the place of God? And as for you, ye meant 20
evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring to
pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive. Now 21
therefore fear ye not: I will nourish you, and your little
ones. And he comforted them, and spake kindly unto
them.

And Joseph dwelt in Egypt, he, and his father's house: 22
and Joseph lived an hundred and ten years. And 23
Joseph saw Ephraim's children of the third generation:
the children also of Machir the son of Manasseh were

---

21. kindly: R. V. marg., 'Heb. to their heart.'

22, 26. an hundred and ten years. Analogy would suggest that this statement is from P, but the Elohistic Document, which was specially interested in Joseph, may have stated his age.

23. the children . . . of Machir . . . were born upon Joseph's knees: i. e. Joseph adopted them. In the 'Song of Deborah,' Judges v. 14, Machir appears as a tribe instead of Manasseh. What with Jacob's adoption of Joseph's sons, and Joseph's adoption of his own great-grandchildren, the situation is a little complicated. Moreover, the accepted Hebrew text means strictly 'Ephraim's descendants as far as great-great-grandchildren,' i. e. of Joseph, but the Samaritan-Hebrew text and most Versions have 'of the third generation,' as R. V. Again, the Samaritan-Hebrew text

24 born upon Joseph's knees. And Joseph said unto his
brethren, I die: but God will surely visit you, and bring
you up out of this land unto the land which he sware to
25 Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob. And Joseph took an
oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely
visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence.
26 So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old:
and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in
Egypt.

---

has 'in the days of,' instead of 'on the knees of'; and this is accepted by many scholars.

25. Cf. Exod. xiii. 19; Joshua xxiv. 32.

26. Cf. verses 2, 3.

APPENDIX.

Theory of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch.

The theory that Moses wrote the whole, or even almost the whole, of the Pentateuch as it now stands in the extant MSS. of the Hebrew text is untenable, because there is no evidence worth considering in its favour, and overwhelming evidence against it. The Bible never states that Moses wrote the whole of the Pentateuch; and certainly our Lord never staked His authority on any such statement[1]. On the face of it, a book which describes the death of Moses was not intended to be received as written by Moses. On the other hand, the denial that Moses wrote the account of his own death implies no disrespect to the authority of our Lord; and we are equally at liberty to assert that there are other portions of the Pentateuch which were not written by Moses.

---

[1] See the present writer's articles on this subject in the *Expositor*, 1902, 'The New Testament and Jewish Literature.'

INDEX

[*The Numerals refer to the Pages.*]

A (=P), 37, 41 (LXX MS.).
Abel, 115.
Abimelech, 226
Abraham, 3 ff., 49, 209.
Abram, 172.
Accad, 163.
Almighty, 208.
Amalekites, 191.
Amarna Tablets, 17, 71.
Ammon, 9, 225.
Amorite, 165.
Amraphel, 17 f., 49, 187.
Anachronisms, Specimens of, 177 ff., 182, 193, 267.
Analysis, 45.
— Tables of, 52 ff.
Angels, 133, 309.
Angel of Yahweh, 205.
Anthropomorphism, 22, 100 ff.
Ararat, 147.
Arioch, 187.
Assyria, 8, 162 ff.

B (=E), 32, 41 (LXX MS.).
Babel, Babylon, 8, 170.
Babylonian Sources, 16.
— Account of the Creation, 67.
— — Flood, 135.
Baethgen, 122 f.
Beer-sheba, 20, 233.
Berosus, 67.
Beth-el, 4, 20, 177, 281.
Blessing of Noah, 20, 156 f.
— — Isaac, 20, 276 ff.
— — Jacob, 20, 393 ff.
Blood, 153.
Blood-revenge, 119.
Book of Jashar, 21.
— — Origins, 37.
Book of the Four Covenants, 37.
— — Wars of Yahweh, 21.

C (=J), 24.
Cain, 114.
'Came to pass that,' 115.
Canaan, 156.
Chapters, 44.
Chedorlaomer, 188.
Cherubim, 113.
Children, Sacrifice of, 31, 237.
Christ, Preparation for, 7, 24, 35.
Chronology, 35 f., 126 f., 136, 144.
Circumcision, 210.
Clean and Unclean Foods, 142.
Composition of Genesis, 9.
Concubines, 232, 243.
Contents of Documents, 55.
Cosmology, Semitic, 49, 66 ff.
— Illustration of, 66.
Coupled Synonyms, 84, 118, 235.
Covenants, 141, 201, 210.
Creation, 4 f., 10 f., 18, 35, 67.
Cubit, 139 f.
Cush, 161 f.

D, 10, 13.
Damascius, 68.
Davidson, 195.
Davis, 63.
Delitzsch, Fried., 19.
— Franz, 63.
Deuteronomy, 10, 13.
Dillmann, 63.
Divine Names, 22, 31, 36, 45, 90 ff., 197, 208.
Divination, 371.

Doughty, 319.
Dreams, 31.
Driver, 88.

E (Elohistic Document), 10, 13, 30, 52.
Early Rising, 222.
Eden, 94.
Edom, 4, 9, 263 ff., 277 ff.
Egypt, 8, 161.
Egyptian Sources, 19.
— Versions, 41.
— Views of Creation, 72.
Elohim, 36, 45, 92.
Elohist, 37.
Elohistic Document, *see* E.
Elyon, 197.
Enoch, 130.
Erman, 72, 180, 347.
Esau, 263.
Etymologies, 22.
Eve, 111.

Fall, 4, 102.
Flood, 4, 11, 18, 135.

Genealogies, 37, 124.
Generations, 37, 88.
Genesis, Analysis, 45.
— Composition, 9.
— Historical Circumstances, 7.
— Interpretation, 47.
— Message, 3.
— Sources, 16.
— Transmission of Text, 40.
— xiv, 49, 185.
German Emperor, 19.
Gilead, 20, 306.
God, *see* Elohim.
— Doctrine of, 4, 22 ff., 31.
— in History, 4.
— Fellowship with, 6, 24.
— Names of, *see* Divine Names.
Goshen, 375.
Grave, *see* Sheol.
Grundschrift, 37.
Gunkel, 63.

Hagar, 5, 204.
Ham, 132, 156 ff.
Hammurabi, 17 f., 49, 187.
Hebrew, 186.
Hebron, 20, 185.
Hexateuch, 9.
— Oxford, 63.
Historical Element, 48 ff.
History, Ordinary, 47, 49.
— Religious meaning, 5.
— Tribal, 4 f., 49.
— Typical, 48.
Horses, 386 f.
Hyksos, 354.

Incarnation, *see* Christ.
Inconsistent Statements, Specimens of, 10, 231, 271, 326, 360.
Interpretation, 47.
Isaac, 20, 211.
Ishmael, 4, 206.
Israel, 4, 314.

J (Jehovistic or Primitive Document), 10, 22, 52.
— Characteristics, 22.
— Names and Symbols, 24.
— Contents, 24.
JE (Twofold Document), 13, 52.
Jacob, 3 ff., 20, 49.
Jacobs, 265.
Japheth, 132, 156 ff.
Jastrow, 88.
Jehovah, *see* Yahweh.
Jensen, 63.
Jerusalem, 20.
Joseph, 3, 19, 49, 295, 334.
Joshua, 21.
Josiah, 13, 23.

Kingdom, 9.
Kittel, 173.

Laban, 251.
Lamech, 20, 132.
Latin Versions, 41 ff.

Law, 9, 15.
Leah, 288.
Literature, 63.
Longevity of Patriarchs, 128.
Lot, 173.
LXX, *see* Septuagint.
Lyrics, 20.

Maççebas, *see* Sacred Pillars.
Mamre, 20, 184.
Marriage, 101.
Massoretic Hebrew Text, 44.
Melchizedek, 194.
Mesopotamia, 249.
Message of Genesis, 3.
Messianic Passages, 109, 397.
Methuselah, 131.
Midian, 258.
Moab, 9, 224.
Moriah, 237.
Mosaic Authorship of Pentateuch, Theory of, 15 f., 408.
Moses, 31.
Most High, 197.
Mourning, 405 f.
Müller, 177.
Muçr, 204.

Names of God, *see* Divine Names.
— Etymology of, *see* Etymologies.
Nimrod, 163.
Noah, 20, 132.
Nomads, 8, 21.

Ophir, 167.

P (Priestly Document), 10, 13, 34, 52.
— Characteristics, 34.
— Contents, 37.
— Names and Symbols, 37.
Paddan-aram, 262.
Paradise, 95.
Paronomasia, 22.
Patriarchs, 4, 289 ff., 326.
Pentateuch, 9.
— Division of, 13.
Persia, 18.
Pharaoh, 179.
Philistines, 267.
Pillars, *see* Sacred Pillars.
Place, 176.
Plummer, 222.
Polygamy, 121.
Potiphar, 341.
Priestly Document (or Code), *see* P.
Primitive Document, *see* J.
Primogeniture, 232, 265.
Prophet, 227.
Prophetic Documents, 24, 32.

Q (=P), 37.

R (Editorial Additions or Compilations), 52.
Rachel, 287.
Rainbow, 134.
Rebekah, 243.
Repetitions, 10, 135.
Revelation, 5.
— Progressive, 7, 35.
— and Science, 72.

Sabbath, 88.
Sacred Pillars or Stones, 31, 282.
— Trees, 22 f., 103, 177.
— Wells, 207, 233.
Sacrifice, 115.
— of Children, 31.
Samaritan-Hebrew Text of Pentateuch, 42.
Sanchoniathon, 68.
Sanctuaries, Stories from, 19 ff.
Sarah, Sarai, 173, 210.
Satan, *see* Serpent.
Sayce, 72, 96.
Science, Revelation, &c., 72.
Septuagint, 41.
Serpent, 103 f.
Shaddai, 208.
Shechem, 20, 176.

Shekel, 228, 246.
Shem, 132, 156 f.
Sheol, 340.
Shiloh (? Shelah), 397.
Smith, W. Robertson, 95, 101, 142.
Sodom, 215.
Sons of God, 5, 133.
Soul (self), 179.
Spurrell, 63, 157.
Sykes, 215.
Symbols, Table of, 52.
Synonyms, 84.
Syria, 8.
Syriac Version, 41.

Targum, 397.
Teraphim, 302.
Text, 40.
Threefold Document, 13.
Tidal, 188.
Tithes, 197, 281.
Title, 44.
Torah, 9.
Totems, 287 ff.
Traditions, 6 f., 12, 16, 48 f.
Transmission of Genesis, 40.
Trees, Sacred, 22 f., 103.
Twelve (number), 211, 243, 326.
Twofold Document, *see* JE.
Typical Narratives, 48.

Unclean Food, 142.
Ur of the Chaldees, 173.

Verses, 44.
Versions, 40 f.
Vulgate, 44.

Wells, Sacred, 207, 233.
Westcott, 195.
Winckler, 174.
World of Ancient Israel, 7.

Yahweh, 19, 22 ff., 31, 36, 45, 90 ff.

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